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NAPOLEON THE THIRD.

THIRD VOLUME.

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THE EMPRESS

FROM A MINIATURE IN THE POSSESSION OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL

Eugénie

THE LIFE

OF

NAPOLEON III.

DERIVED FROM STATE RECORDS,
FROM UNPUBLISHED FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE,
AND FROM PERSONAL TESTIMONY.

BY BLANCHARD JERROLD.

BRANCH OF THE

With FAMILY PORTRAITS in the POSSESSION of the IMPERIAL FAMILY, and FACSIMILES of LETTERS of NAPOLEON I., NAPOLEON III., QUEEN HORTENSE, &c.

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

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BOOK VII.

THE PRESIDENCY.

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CHAPTER I.

THE REPRESENTATIVE OF FIVE DEPARTMENTS.

When the Revolution of February 1848 broke out the only surviving brother of Napoleon was King Jerome, the youngest of the brothers; and this prince had forfeited all claim to be regarded as a leader, or even as a lieutenant, of the Bonapartist cause.[1] In exile he had shown himself to be impatient chiefly of those curtailments of his personal pleasures which he who is banished from the land of his birth must endure. Jerome was even less of the hero than King Joseph. So ardently had he craved a return to France that he had tendered terms to King Louis Philippe which made compliance safe for the King by making his new subject contemptible. On December 22, 1847, King Jerome received, in Brussels, the permission to reside in France for three months. This was an act of toleration on the part of Louis Philippe conceded to Jerome personally, as it had been before conceded to those among his relatives who were willing to be tolerated on any terms under a régime that had formally, and under cruel penalties, renewed the law banishing their family. Under favour of the Orleans sovereign Jerome and his son Napoleon

[1] After the fall of Louis Philippe papers awaiting the King's signature were found giving Jerome a pension of 100,000 francs and a peerage.—*Delord.*

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were actually living in France when the revolution broke out.

M. Taxile Delord, in his 'History of the Second Empire'—a less violent work than others on its subject which have yet emanated from a Republican pen—describes the conduct of the members of Napoleon's family as moderate and, in the main, conciliatory; and sets up their prudence and submissiveness to the junior Bourbons in what he fancies to be damaging contrast with the uncompromising hostile attitude of Prince Louis. But the aim of the Republican historian is missed, and the narrative designed to discredit Napoleon III. goes far towards a thorough explanation of his success. When M. Delord exhibits King Joseph in London begging M. Sarrans[1] not to leave him alone with Prince Louis, because the Prince's chimerical speculations on the future of their House bored him; Lucien absorbed in commercial speculations, and with so little faith in the family cause as to naturalise his children Romans; King Louis cultivating the muses at Florence and refusing to believe in the star of his House, or to share in the dreams of his surviving son; and Jerome believing in nothing save his pleasures—he merely designs a striking background which throws forward the student of Arenenberg and the prisoner of Ham, who, waking and dreaming, saw only the Napoleonic ideas and the star of his destiny, which remained the north star of his course, while Joseph trimmed his flower-beds by Philadelphia, and Jerome (who, when on the throne, had had a comic novelist[2] for his private secretary) lived 'careless of what the hours might bring' in Rome. From a great family

[1] A writer of several works on contemporary history.
[2] Pigault-Lebrun.

group of degenerate kindred we pick out the pale, thought-laden face of a young man who has suffered and is prepared to suffer; and we recognise in him the born chief who will redeem his race from the sordid and shabby end to which these troops of mediocre and self-seeking uncles, aunts, and cousins would let it run. M. Delord is compelled to admit that it was in the hope of crushing Bonapartism, and in fear of it, that the Government of July treated with the members of Napoleon's family, granting pensions to some and passports to others. It was in the hope of identifying himself with the hero's glory that the wily Orleans completed the Arch of Triumph, brought back Napoleon's ashes from St. Helena, and set the effigy of the Little Corporal upon the capital of the Vendôme Column. While Louis Philippe affected to disdain the influence of the Bonapartists his mind was for ever fixed upon them; nor was he blinded by the assurances of his Ministers that the attempts of Strasburg and Boulogne had produced only scorn for the hero of them throughout the country. He had reason for his clemency in both instances. He marked the conduct of the troops at Strasburg, and was able to appreciate the value of the loyalty of the old Imperial generals who surrounded him. When, after Strasburg, General Exelmans hastened to him to protest against the charge of complicity in the plot, the old King merely observed: 'Exelmans se mouche bien vite.' By turns humane and severe, Louis Philippe could never settle into a steady policy in regard to Bonapartism. His vacillation served the cause of his enemies. His leniency was ascribed to fear, which meant that the Bonapartists were gaining ground; and his severity imparted an interest to those whom he oppressed. The condemnation of young Laity to five years' imprison-

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ment for publishing an account of the Strasburg plot, while it shocked every just mind, led the public to speculate on the power of the party whom it was found necessary to frighten by so severe a sentence.

This party, during the latter half of Louis Philippe's reign, was, indeed, more active and more *en évidence* than Orleanist or Republican writers have chosen to admit. There was the famous Société du Dix Décembre; the Club des Culottes de Peau, composed mainly of old officers of the Empire, as De Montholon, Voisin, and Bouffet de Montauban; and there was the Club des Cotillons, where Bonapartist ladies—Mesdames Salvage de Faverolles, Hamelin, and Régnault-Saint-Jean-d'Angely —talked treason behind their fans. The wits were merry, however, at the old *grognards*, at the ladies who hoped to walk through a cotillon back to the Empire, at the journalists who, with the elegant and *spirituel* Mocquard at their head, kept the Napoleonic tradition alive, and at the hero of Strasburg and Boulogne. Louis Philippe was at last persuaded that he had buried the mighty legend under the dome of the Invalides, and put the sword of Austerlitz on the same mouldering cushion with that of Charlemagne.

He had not plucked a feather from the eagle's wing. When he had obtained from his Chamber of Peers—composed mainly of old dignitaries and servants of the Empire—the perpetual imprisonment of Napoleon's heir, he imagined that he had for ever secured the heads and remnants of the Empire. He had only stirred every village, and re-encompassed with a living interest every rude bust or portrait of the great man that decorated the hearths of the people. The delighted Orleanists accepted the acts of the Peers towards Louis Napoleon as a general public desertion of the cause of the Empire. That act helped to make many of those Peers twelve years

later Senators, Councillors of State, prefects, and chamberlains of Napoleon III.[1] CHAP. I.

But M. Delord is as blind as the Orleanists whom he ridicules. The implacable political adversary of Louis Napoleon, he cannot be just towards him in a single respect. He is so blinded by party passion that he cannot see how the blunders of the Orleanists favoured the Bonapartists, nor how the conduct of the rest of Napoleon's family, and the faith and courage and singleness of purpose of Louis Napoleon, had fixed the mind of the French people upon him as the only worthy descendant of the great man long before he stepped into the Hôtel du Rhin a representative of a French constituency, and soon to be the First Magistrate of the French. The Republican historian repeats all the old blunders and falsehoods about the Prince; with unpardonable carelessness adopts every unfavourable rumour or invention as a fact; commits a series of errors in dates, places, and names, the correction of which would fill many pages; and finally exhibits his outrageous caricature of the representative Bonaparte in the National Assembly as a poor creature of accident, with whom fantastic Fate has some strange pranks to play yet. M. Delord passes over the Prince's relations with Carrel, Chateaubriand, Thiers, Louis Blanc, Sismondi, Sand, Landor, Fonblanque, and other persons of note who had corresponded with him and knew him to be a student and a thinker. He treats him as a mere adventurer, who was unknown to the army and to the

[1] 'Les anciens serviteurs de la dynastie napoléonienne semblaient donner, par cet arrêt, un gage certain de dévouement à la dynastie régnante. Jamais, en effet, l'Empire n'avait été plus ouvertement renié. Les Orléanistes ravis partageaient la satisfaction et la sécurité de Louis-Philippe. Qui leur eût dit que dans douze ans la plupart des noms inscrits au bas de la condamnation de M. Louis Bonaparte figureraient sur la liste des sénateurs, des conseillers d'État, des préfets et des chambellans de Napoléon III.?'—*Taxile Delord*, vol. i. p. 43.

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people; and then proceeds to narrate chapters of accidents by which the obscure young man was carried to the chief magistracy of France. Yet M. Delord is less unjust to Louis Napoleon than the majority of his brother historians and pamphleteers. He is impartiality and justice personified when compared with Mr. Kinglake.

There was only one Napoleon whom France knew, whom the Republicans, Orleanists, and Legitimists feared, in 1848, and against whom the Provisional Government found it necessary to take precautions. Prince Napoleon Bonaparte was already, as we have shown, living in France, and on the morrow of Louis Philippe's flight might have been seen making his way through the crowd to the Hôtel de Ville, presenting himself to the various groups of politicians, and receiving from authorities and people alike expressions of indifference. He resembled the hero of Austerlitz in person; but he was unknown, untried, unproved. Even Lucien's son Pierre was more fortunate than the heir of the Bonaparte who was ready to sit in Louis Philippe's House of Peers, for this turbulent prince obtained a battalion in the foreign legion. Prince Louis was *the* Bonaparte. To him the party had looked exclusively since the death of the Duke of Reichstadt. Not only was he the heir of Napoleon: Nature had formed him to be his uncle's successor. For this mission he had studied, thought, and suffered with extraordinary patience. When events plainly told him that his hour was at hand, he was neither surprised nor hasty. It is quite true that in the elections of April 1848 his name was not carried before a single constituency, yet his faith, as we have seen, never faltered. He believed in that which he had always preached as the origin of all political power—in that power to which his uncle Joseph had appealed in favour of Napoleon II. in 1830, viz. the sovereignty of the people. Knowing that there was no escape from an

ultimate appeal to the nation, he watched the rapid turns of affairs—the storms in the Assembly, the dissensions in the Executive, the blunders of the Republican delegates in the departments—not, as M. Delord says, in a state of discouragement, but with the quiet of a man strong enough to wait. He would stroll quietly from his house in King Street, St. James's, in the evening, with his faithful dog Ham for his companion, and repair to the little underground newsvendor's near the Burlington Arcade, where he would read the latest news in the last editions of the papers. Day by day he saw that the temper and opinions of his countrymen were becoming more and more in harmony with his own. He was a democrat, he believed in Republican institutions, and his studies of economical questions had prepared him for experiments in social science. His pamphlet on Pauperism had been read by the daring social experimentalists who had been agitating society for twenty years. These claimed him as a Socialist.[1] The inheritor of the most popular name of modern times appeared therefore before the French people upon a platform acceptable to all save the violent demagogues who declared property to be robbery—such intellectual irreconcilables as Proudhon and his congeners, and the Legitimists, headed by M. Berryer, and the Orleanists, led by M. Thiers. When M. Delord gravely repeats an old absurdity, printed by Aristide Ferrier,[2] attributing the success of Louis Napoleon to a banker who began an agitation by getting his tradesmen together, and telling them he would have them named purveyors to his Majesty so soon as the Empire should be proclaimed, he gives us the measure of the ob-

[1] Émile Thomas, director of the Ateliers Nationaux, recommended his candidature to the workmen at Paris.

[2] *Révélations sur la Propagande napoléonienne fait en* 1848 *et* 1859. Par Aristide Ferrier Turin, 1863.

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liquity to which he is subject under the influence of party passion. He traces even the cry of 'Vive l'Empereur!' which was first heard in April 1848, to a trivial accident. The National Guard were anxious to retain their bearskins; and as these were threatened by the Republic, they made a demonstration before the Hôtel de Ville, in which they were joined by some survivors of the old Guard. Cries were raised of 'Vive la Garde!' there was an attempt to force the way to the Executive, and when the soldiers of the Revolution fell back before the débris of Napoleon's battalions the popular enthusiasm knew no bounds, and the cry of 'Vive l'Empereur!' was heard. This incident, and the banker's customers, according to M. Delord,[1] made Louis Napoleon's fortune.

The shouts raised in the wake of the old Guardsmen were the natural outcome of the emotion that was in the public mind. The Bonapartist committees, especially that which had a meeting-place in the Passage des Panoramas, took care, no doubt, to create opportunities for Bonapartist manifestations. They were not always choice in the means which they adopted. They acted very much as electioneering agents acted in this country twenty-five years ago—as, indeed, some act at the present time. They paid agents, distributed bribes, were reckless in promises, disseminated pamphlets, portraits, and medals, wrote lampoons, vilified their opponents, resorted to tricks of a low kind, manufactured rumours, and carried on a war of skirmishes against the enemy with any arms they found handy. But they had material to work upon, or they would not have been successful. The Assembly was ready to devour them; the Executive loathed and feared them; yet their numbers increased daily. The crowds in their wake became hosts of

[1] Taxile Delord, vol. i. p. 72.

excited men, with whom it was not easy to deal. While the Assembly deliberated on the election of the Bonaparte upon whom the eyes of the country were fixed, his name was borne upon the lips of the mob to the portals of the Chamber, and they called him Consul, Emperor! As he increased in strength his enemies dwindled to shadows;[1] or, as his enemies will have it, he rose upon the failure of all who were opposed to him. They pelted him with mud as they retired one by one from the social anarchy which their quarrels and their incapacity had created; vilified every member of his party; represented him as conducting a Bonapartist propaganda with Russian money, and as resorting to the most dishonest courses in order to fill the maws of his greedy lieutenants. But they could not impede his course; and when at length his name stood before the country as candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, matters had been brought to such a pass among the Orleanists and Legitimists that these rallied to his cause as a 'refuge against a Jacquerie,' not the less ardently because Proudhon had proclaimed that the advent of Louis Napoleon meant the tempest and the thunderbolt.

Republican and Orleanist writers have laboured hard to associate the Bonapartists with the bloody days of June, and to show the agents of Louis Napoleon instigating the discontented working-men to open revolt. Some of the lower Bonapartist organs issued recklessly throughout the summer of 1848 held up the repre-

[1] 'When M. Lamartine called for the proscription of Louis Napoleon, he uttered the condemnation and opprobrium of his own Government. It could only be because M. Lamartine had been so dangerously weak that Louis Napoleon had become so dangerously strong. It was because M. Lamartine had caused people in despair to look out for any man to make head against waste and anarchy that voices were raised for the revival of dynasties as a refuge against a Jacquerie.'—Albany Fonblanque, *Examiner*, 1848.

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sentatives of the people to public odium, and helped to inflame the minds of the rich against the poor; but the party—the cause—was that of order, and Louis Napoleon appeared as the governor who was to save society from the excesses of the Socialists. The blunder of the Executive in the banishment of the tenants of the National workshops in the army fairly exasperated the populace, and put an end to the patience of the bourgeoisie. The cries of the unemployed masses were against the Assembly, M. de Lamartine, and M. Thiers, as the blunderers who had brought Paris and the Republic to shame and want; and day by day they clung with a deeper faith to the name of Napoleon, as that of the strong man who would give a settled direction to public affairs once more, and represent a firm Government under which work and commerce would return to the Faubourg Saint-Antoine and the Marais. The persistency with which Republican and Orleanist historians and journalists have endeavoured to explain the rise of the fortunes of Louis Napoleon on the failure of the Republic in 1848 as the triumph of a mean and immoral act, and their own discomfiture as the fate of men of Quixotic virtue and patriotism, gives the impartial reader a very poor idea of their penetration or their candour. Even M. Delord's pages, cleverly as he has arranged them to produce a contrary effect, impress the historical student with the irresistible force which carried Louis Napoleon to the Presidency, when once his name was upon men's lips. He alone of the Bonapartes represented the Napoleonic legend to the people. This legend alone stirred the national heart. M. Berryer, chairman of a central Legitimist committee, which had affiliated local committees in all the departments, might talk openly in the Assembly about his King Henry V.; nobody feared him nor his organisation. M. Thiers might come and go

between the Place de la Concorde and Claremont; no Republican sought to molest him. These leaders of the elder and junior Bourbon causes could make no way. The collapse of Orleanism was complete, and through the varying phases of the Revolution it never had strength to raise a single hand. Legitimacy, if regarded as the more chivalrous and respectable Monarchical cause, was to the people as much a part of the past as the chairs and tables, the helmets and weapons of the Hôtel Cluny.

When Louis Napoleon took up his quarters at the Hôtel du Rhin in the Place Vendôme, there were only two powerful parties in France, viz. the Republican party and the Bonapartist party. The former included men of rare ability, patriots as unselfish as Hampden, heroes ready for any sacrifice for their country's sake, dreamers prepared to turn society upside-down in the most righteous spirit; but no administrators, no steady practical men—no leaders, but a host eager to lead. Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, François Arago, Garnier-Pagès, Louis Blanc, Crémieux, Marrast, Cavaignac—these are the names of honourable citizens, but in none of them was the stuff of a leader of men; to none would the country, which was imploring order and security, that the wheels of industry might spin again, confide its destinies. It would have neither an Orleanist regency nor Legitimacy under the Count of Chambord; for these settlements it knew would not last one round of the seasons. What remained?

This question was to be answered by the Deputy at the Hôtel du Rhin, who had been returned by five departments, and who had already very notable people of various political parties on his list of visitors. Foremost among them were MM. Odilon and Ferdinand Barrot.

CHAPTER II.

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

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PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON arrived in Paris, and took up his quarters at the Hôtel du Rhin, in the Place Vendôme, on September 25, 1848, and on the following day he made his first appearance in the Assembly. He was received in profound silence; he was in the midst of enemies who were seeking his destruction. The significance of his appearance, accompanied as it was by irrepressible shouts of 'Long live Louis Napoleon! Long live the Emperor!'—shouts that had been heard in the provinces as well as in the capital, and were intended as the people's answers to M. Ledru-Rollin's emissaries and the intrigues of MM. Berryer, Thiers, and the party of the 'National'—could not be misunderstood.[1] It meant confusion to the followers of Sobrier and Crémieux, to the red sashes of Caussidière, to the *porte-blouse* of Félix Pyat, and to the hordes of idlers of whom Louis Blanc at the Luxembourg had craved the permission to call them brothers. It silenced the lute of Lamartine,

[1] 'On the morrow of the official notification of the election of Prince Louis for the Department of the Seine, the Prefect of Police, Ducoux, wrote to the President of the Council: "The Bonapartist party is, beyond dispute, the strongest and the most numerous. The Republic would be in imminent peril, I am convinced, if this party were in the hands of sincere and resolute men. The army and the people, resolutely appealed to by an audacious chief, would pass under the banner of the Napoleon family.'—*Histoire de la seconde République française.* Par Hippolyte Castille. Vol. iv.

who had been prodigal of his eloquence in vain against the Bonapartes. It marked the beginning of the decline of Eugène Cavaignac. It promised an end to processions by torchlight; to the planting of trees of Liberty stolen from private gardens; to chariots of Agriculture and golden-horned oxen, and fasces and Goddesses of Plenty in white muslin paraded past empty mills and bankrupt shops. It announced the close of the ignoble orgies of those mischievous hordes whom Ledru-Rollin had called into the streets, and of whom he had said sardonically: 'I must follow them, since it is I who lead them.'

In sullen disappointment many ambitious representatives beheld the heir of Napoleon quietly make his way to the tribune. There was yet one hope left for them. He might prove the numskull his enemies had described; he might show himself to be deserving of the contempt and ridicule which General. Cavaignac's party had poured upon him. But as the Prince entered with his old friend M. Vieillard, and bowed and shook hands with the few who greeted him, his enemies saw with consternation that he was not in the most distant degree like the caricatures of the 'Charivari.' He had the manners of the French gentleman of the old régime—a winning manner that almost made a friend with an inclination of the head. His aspect was military, and there were grave lines in his face, marks of years of brave study and of patient suffering. His bearing was quiet, composed, and easy under the gaze of his enemies; and when he mounted the tribune, his firm voice, and his resolute but not aggressive attitude, at once proved to MM. de Lamartine, Thiers, Cavaignac, Marrast, Molé, Ledru-Rollin, and other notables that the heir of Napoleon was something more than a lay figure arranged in the legendary cocked hat and grey capote. He at once attacked his calumniators.

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'I cannot remain silent, citizen representatives,' he said, 'in the face of the calumnies of which I have been the object. I desire to state plainly, on this the first day I am permitted to sit in this Assembly, the real sentiments which animate me now, and which have always animated me.

'After thirty-three years of proscription and exile I return to my country and to my rights as a citizen. The Republic has given me this happiness: let it receive my vow of gratitude and devotion, and let my generous compatriots who have returned me to this Assembly be assured that they will always see me devoted to the noble task which belongs to all of us—to secure order and tranquillity, the first want of the country, and to develope the democratic institutions of the State which the people have a right to demand.

'For a long time, gentlemen, I have been able to give my country only the meditations of exile and captivity. To-day the career which you pursue is open to me also. Receive me into your ranks, dear colleagues, with that affectionate sympathy I myself feel. You should not doubt that my conduct will always be inspired by a respectful devotion to the law; it will prove to all who have endeavoured to blacken me that no person is more devoted than I am to the defence of order and the consolidation of the Republic.'[1]

[1] 'J'ai besoin d'exposer ici hautement, et dès le premier jour où il m'est permis de siéger parmi vous, les vrais sentiments qui m'animent.

'Après trente-quatre années de proscription et d'exil je retrouve enfin ma patrie et mes droits de citoyen.

'La République m'a fait ce bonheur: que la République reçoive ici mon serment de reconnaissance et de dévouement, et que les généreux patriotes qui m'ont porté dans cette enceinte soient certains que je m'efforcerai de justifier leurs suffrages en travaillant avec vous au maintien de la tranquillité, ce premier besoin du pays, et au développement des institutions démocratiques que le peuple a droit de réclamer.

'Longtemps je n'ai pu consacrer à la France que les méditations de

To this appeal there was no response. Parties were preparing for a mortal struggle. The Assembly was given up to the elaboration of a Constitution, and the various groups of politicians were discussing the clauses as they affected their own hopes and interests. Prince Louis quietly took up his residence at Auteuil, and began to study the situation in which he was so prominent a figure. He paid visits to Thiers, Berryer, De Girardin, Montalembert, and even to Proudhon. The Conservative chiefs presently received him with respect, and recognised in him a prince who had solid claims to rank as a statesman. The mistrust he inspired in the ferocious Proudhon was a tribute to his ability. Day by day the popularity of the Bonapartist cause increased, and it became apparent to the Orleanists, Legitimists, and even to the Moderate Republicans, that the only escape from the Reds was by the election of Prince Napoleon to the Presidency of the Republic.

While this alternative was becoming distinctly visible, some extraordinary shiftings of party men took place, and some woeful exhibitions of vain egotism were manifested.

M. Marrast, reporter of the Commission charged with the preparation of a Republican Constitution, had read the report on June 13. The insurrection of that month had delayed the consideration of the labours of the Commissioners; but on October 13 the Republican Constitution of 1848 was carried. During the progress of the debates there had been stormy times, provoked by the workings of conflicting

l'exil et de la captivité; aujourd'hui la carrière où vous marchez m'est ouverte. Recevez-moi dans vos rangs, mes chers collègues, avec le même sentiment d'affectueuse confiance que j'y apporte. Ma conduite, toujours inspirée par le devoir, toujours animée par le respect de la loi —ma conduite prouvera, à l'encontre des passions qui ont essayé de me noircir pour me proscrire encore, que nul ici plus que moi n'est résolu à se dévouer à la défense de l'ordre et à l'affermissement de la République.'

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ambitions. This Constitution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and universal suffrage. According to it no fraction of the people could exercise sovereignty. The election of the President was by universal suffrage. By the same suffrage the Deputies and all elective functionaries were returned.[1]

It was the method of electing the President, however, that was the battle-ground of parties in the Assembly, the Republican democrats knowing full well that election by universal suffrage meant the return of Prince Louis Napoleon. The Commission had pronounced in favour of a direct election by the nation; but such Deputies as M. Félix Pyat were quite ready to sacrifice the principle of universal suffrage when it threatened to bring about a result adverse to their own cause. Some Deputies proposed to have a Republic without a President. M. de Tocqueville, more liberal than the Mountain, conjured the Assembly not to mistrust the nation, but to leave them to elect the chief of the Executive. M. Grévy endeavoured to solve the difficulty by proposing that the National Assembly should delegate the Executive power to a citizen with the title of President of the Council of Ministers; that he should be elected for a limited period, and that his appointment should be revocable at any moment. This amendment was avowedly pressed to avert the danger of a President elected by the people, who might not be 'a pure Republican, in haste to descend from the Presidential throne.' M. Grévy had Prince Louis in his mind. But the Assembly was deaf to

[1] 'Art. 1. La souveraineté réside dans l'universalité des citoyens français. Elle est inaliénable et imprescriptible. Aucun individu, aucune fraction du peuple, ne peut s'en attribuer l'exercice.'

'Art. 42. Le suffrage est direct et universel. Le scrutin est secret.'

'Art. 26. Le Président est nommé au scrutin secret et à la majorité absolue des votants, par le suffrage direct de tous les électeurs des départements français et de l'Algérie.'

his eloquence, as it was to the proposition of another Deputy, who suggested that only the first President of the Republic should be chosen by the Assembly, the election of all future Presidents being left to the nation. M. de Lamartine spoke warmly and eloquently in favour of a national vote. The loss of popularity in the Assembly which he had suffered in a few months—he, who in April had been returned in Paris by 260,000 votes, and had at the same time been elected in ten departments—left him under no illusion as to his own fate if the Presidential election should be left to the Assembly. Cavaignac, victor over the insurrection of June, would be unanimously elected; whereas the people might make him ample amends for the ingratitude of their representatives, and give back to him that glory of the spring which had rewarded his courage and genius in February and March. Surely the clergy would be with the author of the 'Meditations,' the youth of France with the poet who had sung 'Éloise,' the burgesses with the conqueror of the red flag, the people with the historian of the Girondins.[1] With this conviction possessing him the orator threw all his eloquence on the side of a popular vote.

At the moment when the manner of electing the Chief Magistrate of the Republic was under discussion, M. Thiers was, in a tentative, an uncertain position. He was casting about for the compromises, feints, and combinations that would place him in power. The clergy had just taught him that under universal suffrage he could not throw them over, and he had made his peace, if not with the Church, at least with the priests. He had recognised a clerical party, and, as a Conservative desirous of making way against the dangers of the ultra-Democrats and Socialists, he had joined it

[1] Taxile Delord.

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—if not as a sincerely devout Catholic, as a convinced political Churchman. When he admitted his conversion, the doors of the Constituent Assembly (which the priests had closed in his face) were opened to him by a bishop.[1] The newly-folded sheep affected for a time humble attitudes; but soon the old thirst for power and instinct of command returned in all their force, and M. Thiers aspired to lead the Legitimist and Orleanist forces, under the cover of Moderate Republicanism, to the destruction of the Republic, to which he had hastened to rally, on the invitation of M. de Lamartine and Armand Marrast, on the morrow of Louis Philippe's flight. For a moment M. Thiers had hoped to gain the Presidential chair of the Republic; and he had opened negociations with M. Marrast, who had great influence over the Assembly, offering him the Vice-Presidency. He had even originated an attack on General Cavaignac in the 'Constitutionnel.' But he had the discernment to desist in time, and to withdraw within the lines of the rôle in which he still excels—that of leader of an Opposition.

He was more discreet than Marshal Bugeaud. The Marshal, a vain and boastful man, worked himself into the belief, not that he ardently desired the Presidency of the Republic, but that the country was eager to have him. He said that men of all parties were rallying round him; that the clergy and the press were in his favour. General Changarnier relied on the Legitimists

[1] 'M. Thiers devint bientôt un des chefs de ces catholiques qui défendent le pouvoir temporel et qui nient la divinité de Jésus-Christ. L'Église dans certains moments n'est pas exigeante; elle se contente de ce qu'on peut lui donner. "Je ne suis pas obligé de me mettre à la place de Dieu et de sonder les consciences; mais apparemment, visiblement, M. Thiers est tout-à-fait revenu à nous." Cette attestation de M. Fayet, évêque d'Orléans, représentant du peuple, ouvrit les portes de l'Assemblée constituante à M. Thiers.' — *Taxile Delord.*

to make him Chief Magistrate, that he might gently lead Henri V. to the palaces of his ancestors. Even M. de la Rochejacquelein nursed for a time the secret illusion that the nation wanted him to be the *avant-courier* of the elder Bourbon.

Had M. de Lamartine known, when he advanced to the tribune to support the election of the President by a direct vote of the nation, that the people would give fifty times more votes to Ledru-Rollin than to himself, and that Raspail would command five electors for every one who would approach the urn for him; above all, had he foreseen that Prince Louis Napoleon would be backed by nearly five millions and a half of voters, and that he had fallen so low that not eight thousand men in all France would be found to rally to his candidature—the poet had not thrown the weight of his eloquence into the balance against the election of the President by the Assembly.

On October 9 the Assembly decided by a vote of 627 against 130 that the President of the Republic should be elected by a direct universal vote of the nation; and on November 4 the famous Constitution of 1848 was carried by 739 votes against 30. On October 9 the election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic became a certainty. On that day, according to the Republicans, the Republic was lost. A final effort was made against Prince Louis by M. Antonin Thouret, who, immediately after the settlement of the election of the President, rose in the Assembly and proposed that no member of any House that had reigned in France could be President or Vice-President of the Republic. Prince Louis ascended the tribune and met this attack with a firm protest against the character of pretender, with which his enemies persisted in clothing him, and M. Thouret's proposition was unanimously rejected.

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On November 12 the national fête of the promulgation of the Constitution was held. Eighty-six Venetian masts, from which tricolour oriflammes fluttered in the bleak air, and from the base of which incense arose to the nostrils of the citizens of the new Republic, adorned the Place de la Concorde. Raised platforms accommodated the national representatives, with their backs turned to the Tuileries. By the Obelisk of Luxor stood a brand new plaster figure of the Constitution. By the Tuileries gates rose a superbly ornamented altar—all velvet and gold, and surmounted with the Divine device 'Love one another.' Armand Marrast, President of the Assembly, having General Cavaignac on his right and Marie, Keeper of the Seals, on his left, bare-headed in the winter wind and snow, read the Constitution; and then the Archbishop of Paris celebrated high mass, followed by a Te Deum; and on the morrow the 'Moniteur' approved this grand and simple manner of promulgating the new laws—the product of base passions and selfish compromises—'in the face of Heaven.'

CHAPTER III.

ALEA JACTA EST.

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M. TAXILE DELORD, in this the faithful interpreter of the Left of the Constituent Assembly, and indeed of the Left of the next Assembly, as well as of that elected during the Franco-German war, declares that the clause in the Constitution of 1848 which gave the election of President to the universal vote of the nation lost the Republic. Yet this vote was carried by an immense majority in the first Chamber elected by universal suffrage. Had the Chamber consented to M. Leblond's proposition that the first President should be named by the Assembly, it is beyond doubt that the choice of the representatives would have fallen on General Cavaignac. But the election of the General did not suit M. Thiers; it would have thwarted the ambition of M. de Lamartine; it would have been defeat to M. Ledru-Rollin—the Reds and the Socialists. It meant steady, honest, moderate Republicanism, and this was what the Orleanists professed but did not mean. Cavaignac divided the Assembly the most; and the majority preferred a course that promised, at any rate, a strong Conservative Government.

It is to be remarked that, after June, France was not Republican. She had recovered from her fit of tree-planting and had ceased revolutionary hymn-singing. In vain General Cavaignac and the Republican members of his Government endeavoured to lead the country to confide in Republican institutions. They lost ground daily.

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Severe measures for the maintenance of public order, and the unscrupulous employment of Government machinery to vilify the name of the man who was becoming the dominating presence in every part of the country, were accompanied by uncertain political action and that loose hold of the reins of power which invites defeat.[1] The foreign policy of General Cavaignac's Government was as unsatisfactory as the domestic. He was urged by the bolder Republicans to fortify his position by a brilliant expedition to Italy; and he actually fitted out ships to succour Manin in Venice. But the ships sailed at the last moment under counter-orders—to fetch the Pope to Marseilles—and Manin was left to the Austrians. The Pope went to Gaeta instead of taking refuge in France. Even the European Congress that was to have met at Brussels to settle Continental affairs in the interests of liberty never assembled, and General Cavaignac's ambassadors never had occasion to leave Paris. The foreign fiasco was complete.

Cavaignac was not to blame. He was a brave soldier

[1] 'General Cavaignac had not been sparing in his chastisement of the people, and a vivid recollection of the punishment he had inflicted was long preserved. But no beneficial results followed this terrible battle, for the Legislative Assembly were satisfied with having thus made an example of the misguided and strengthened their own power. With the usual heedlessness of the Parisians the whole affair was nearly forgotten in a few weeks, and the lives that had been lost were scarcely thought of. Eleven generals had been killed or wounded, and the slaughter had been tremendous; but it produced no permanent effect: no effort was made to prevent future risings. Red Republicanism, it is true, had received a severe blow; but nothing was done to alleviate the sufferings or enlighten the understandings of the people; nor was the good feeling of the nation appealed to. Indeed, excepting in two or three of the *soi-disant* Liberal journals, no narrative of the fatal events was published; for a great struggle for power was then going on amongst the different parties. Legitimists, Orleanists, and Liberals were only occupied in calculating their strength in the Chamber; and aspiring individuals indulged in hopes that the party to which they looked for their own advancement would triumph.'—*Gronow.*

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and an honest Republican—suddenly set up, by the success of his sword, as the head of a Republic in which there were very few Republicans reasonable enough to be trusted with office. He was cast into the hands of such men as MM. Dufaure and Vivien, who landed him in the power of the *Tiers Parti*. M. Molé at once went his way. Ledru-Rollin became a separate and formidable power. M. Thiers could no longer find his account anywhere save in the Bonapartist camp, to which MM. de Falloux and Montalembert had been beckoning him.[1] The General was left alone with M. Dufaure to manage the Presidential election on his behalf.

The violence of Prince Louis Napoleon's enemies increased with the growth of his popularity. If M. Thiers was at last persuaded to go over to the Prince's party, it was not before he had emptied the vials of his wrath upon him. Living quietly at the Hôtel du Rhin or at Auteuil, the Prince watched the daily shiftings of the political scene, and remained sufficiently master of himself to receive with quiet courtesy the deserters from Opposition ranks who were incessantly flocking to him. Cavaignac's lieutenants filled the papers with abuse of him; there were constant rumours of plots hatching in the Place Vendôme, and artists were employed to describe him as a knave and a fool.[2] Odious instruments were set in motion to make his name hateful to the people.

The consequence was constant collisions and quarrels in the streets, and a reckless bandying of strong language, which threatened to culminate in a general riot. With every sunrise the hate of political parties became fiercer; and General Cavaignac's friends saw more clearly that

[1] Taxile Delord.

[2] The *Charivari* told almost daily falsehoods in the shape of caricatures. The Prince was represented as having imitated the cocked hat, grey capote, and the military boots of his uncle, whereas he never appeared in uniform.

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popularity was passing away from him, as it had already passed away from M. de Lamartine. On the one hand the Bonapartists were becoming stronger in every part of the country; every day the road to the Hôtel du Rhin became more crowded; and, on the other, the Socialists, headed by Ledru-Rollin, were banqueting and plotting against the Moderate Republic. Socialist banquets in Paris were controllable by the skilful military force at the disposal of the Chief of the Executive; but in the provinces his enemies had it all their own way. The dining-hall could be hung with red cloth, and the tricolour be surmounted with the Phrygian bonnet. The toasts of the Executive and the Assembly were at one banquet met with shouts of 'Death to the rich! Death to the priests! Down with the National Assembly! Long live Barbès! Vive la guillotine!'[1]

So intense had the heat of political conflict become all over Paris by the end of October, and so openly were the friends of Prince Louis proclaiming his advent to power, that Clément Thomas rushed into the Assembly, made his way to the tribune, and in the most violent language, which was frequently interrupted, denounced Prince Louis as the instigator of an insurrection that was to land him in the Presidential chair of the Republic. The unbridled tongue of this Deputy shocked the moderate men of the Assembly; but they could not check it. He made a general attack on the Bonapartists, and then fell upon Prince Louis in terms which, it was believed, could be meant only as a provocation to a duel. This might rid the Republic at a blow of the idol of the hour. But M. Thomas overdid his part. Prince Louis was not present to hear him, and the General even turned his absence into an insinuation against him. In the Prince's absence his cousins energetically defended

[1] October 25.

him; but the Deputy to whom the outrage had been addressed decided to answer for himself. M. Thomas had given him an opportunity of making a reply to all the political ruffians who had been let loose upon him.

No later than the morrow of M. Thomas's escapade Prince Louis entered the Assembly, requested the right to speak, and said:—

'Citizen Representatives,—The deplorable incident relative to myself which happened yesterday will not allow me to remain silent.

'I regret deeply to be again compelled to speak about myself, for I see, with repugnance, personal questions brought again and again before the Assembly when we have not a moment to lose over the grave questions which affect the country.

'I will not speak of my sentiments, nor of my opinions; I have already expressed them to you, and nobody has had reason to doubt my word.

'As regards my Parliamentary conduct, just as I should never permit myself to ask any of my colleagues for an account of his, I do not admit the right of any of them to question me on mine. This account is due only to my constituents.

'Of what am I accused? Of accepting from the popular sentiment a candidature which I did not seek? Well, yes; I accept this candidature, which does me honour; I accept it because three successive elections, and the unanimous decree of the National Assembly against the proscription of my family, warrant me in believing that France regards the name I bear as one that may serve to consolidate society, which is shattered to its foundations, and to establish the Republic and make it prosperous.

'How little they who accuse me of ambition know my heart! If an imperious duty did not keep me in

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your midst, if the sympathy of my fellow-citizens did not console me for the animosity with which I am attacked, and even for the impetuosity of some of my defenders, I should long ago have regretted my return from exile

'I am reproached for my silence. It is given to few to express here in eloquent words true and healthy ideas. Is there, then, only one way of serving one's country? First of all, acts are wanted. What is required is a strong, intelligent, and moderate Government, that shall think more of curing the vices of society than of punishing them—a Government that will frankly take the lead in just measures, by which they may repel, a thousand times better than with bayonets, theories which have no foundation in reason or experience.

'I know that it is sought to encumber my path with rocks and pitfalls. I shall not fall over them. I shall always follow, in my own way, the line I have traced, without fear or irritation. Nothing will ruffle my equanimity; nothing will lead me to forget my duty. I have but one object—it is to deserve the esteem of the Assembly, and with this esteem that of all good men, and the confidence of the magnanimous people who were so lightly dealt with yesterday.

'I declare, then, to those who would organise against me a system of provocation, that, for the future, I shall answer no charge, no appeal, intended to make me speak when I would hold my peace; and, strong in my conscience, I shall remain firm against all attacks—impassable in the face of every kind of calumny.'

This manly appeal to the Assembly only gave further rein to the writers of lampoons, the cowardly disseminators of falsehoods, the vagabond imaginations of salaried caricaturists, and the activities of the creatures whom the Government did not disdain to employ in every part of the country. The Prince had boldly avowed himself a can-

didate for the Presidency. Officers commanding the Garde Mobile did not scruple to tell their men that it was their duty to vote for General Cavaignac and not for 'the nephew of the uncle,' and to follow up this command by distributing scandalous caricatures of Prince Louis,[1] in which he was made to appear base and ridiculous. Against these low manœuvres many sensitive minds revolted, as the newspapers of the time show. The workmen of Troyes, for instance, deputed M. Lucien Jourdan to let the Prince know that they would not be led by the intriguers who had been sent into the midst of them by the Government. CHAP. III.

The Prince replied that he was not surprised by the description of the devices to which his opponents were having recourse at Troyes, since they were being used in all the departments. 'I oppose to them,' he observed, 'the rectitude of my conscience.' He relied on the good sense of the people and the name he had inherited.

'Reply,' he continued, 'to those who talk to you about my ambition that I have, in reality, a great one—that of rescuing France from chaos and anarchy, and to re-establish her moral grandeur and her liberty.' He then referred to his past. 'The workmen of Troyes must know that, in exile and in prison, I have meditated on the great questions concerning labour which fill modern society with anxiety. They must believe that such studies have left ineffaceable traces in me, and that these serious interests will always be dear to me.'

In conclusion he said: 'Tell them that I thank them for their confidence. My heart assures me that I am worthy of it, and the future will prove that I deserved it.'

So violent was the language, so menacing were the

[1] *Histoire du Prince Louis-Napoléon*, vol ii. p. 133. Eugène et Victor Renaud Frères.

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gestures of the Prince's enemies, and so frequent were the threatening letters which were addressed to the Hôtel du Rhin, as well as the warnings that his life was in danger, that his friends conjured him to take measures for his personal safety.

Two devoted servants of stalwart build accompanied the Prince when he walked out, and he carried a revolver; but these were the only precautions he would adopt, although it was generally believed that an attempt would be made, if not to assassinate, at least to carry him off. However, towards the end of October he yielded to the pressing solicitations of his family and friends, and consented to take up his quarters in the mansion of his relative Count Clary in the Rue d'Anjou Saint-Honoré, where he decided to receive only a few of his more intimate adherents and advisers while the election was still pending. The electoral organisation was left to the committees which Prince Napoleon, MM. de Persigny and Laity, General Piat, and other military chiefs were directing at the house of the Napoleon family in the Rue 29 Juillet and elsewhere.

During November France was torn with the agitations, the marches and counter-marches, the club quarrels and riotous meetings, the fights and the fantastic tricks of the parties that were bidding for the Government. The Socialists made M. Raspail their leader. Ledru-Rollin was the eloquent and intrepid chief of the democratic Republicans of the Left, who hated General Cavaignac and his tame bourgeois following more than the Bonapartists. Watching the progress of the contention, with no hope of making even a decent figure in it alone, were the Legitimists and the Orleanists. Contemplating it with calm confidence was the man who had learnt statecraft in exile and in prison, who had studied the wants and social and political tendencies of his age apart from the passions of his contemporaries, and who

bore a name beloved of Frenchmen. When he deemed that the time had come to speak to the nation for the government of which he had been preparing himself since he was a student at Arenenberg and at Thun, he turned to two counsellors—to M. Thiers and M. de Girardin, who had reasons, if not for loving him, at least for desiring the discomfiture of Cavaignac and his party. CHAP. III.

But by this time Prince Louis had a host of illustrious counsellors and adherents.

In his speech on the election of President—the last he uttered in the Constituent Assembly—M. de Lamartine said: 'Yes, were the people to choose even him whom my—perhaps imperfect—prescience dreads to see them select, *alea jacta est!* Let God and the people decide.'

From that day when Lamartine, in quest of the supreme power for himself, gave the nation the right to elect their President, and Cavaignac and his Ministers voted against the people, the old statesmen in the Assembly began to rally to the coming man, whom they distinctly discerned through the tumult which Raspail, Ledru-Rollin, the party of the 'National,' the Moderate Republicans, and the Republicans of the Mountain, the Clubbists, and the Socialists made about the Presidential chair. Then was seen the strange spectacle of Republicans struggling against, and Conservatives for, the principle of universal suffrage, while Prince Louis appeared as the embodiment of order, authority, and the sovereignty of the people—the principles which he had enunciated in his writings, and which he had kept distinctly before him as the guides of his political conduct.

A series of mistakes committed by General Cavaignac's Ministers, in rapid succession, after their vote with the minority on the election of President, precipitated recruits into the ranks of Prince Louis. The vote on the administrative suspension of newspapers, by which the

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Government escaped censure by a majority of two, was the most formidable of the blunders that presaged the downfall of the 'National' coterie.[1]

While General Cavaignac, after much hesitation and casting about for a policy, or a combination of men that would give him a Ministry at once strong and sincerely Republican, was making up his mind to give portfolios to MM. Dufaure and Vivien—two Orleanist officials who had rallied openly to the Republic—and while, after having accepted these members of the *Tiers Parti*, he was passing from one act of weakness to another in giving Ministerial power to such men as Gervais (de Caën), Trouvé-Chauvel, and Recurt, the salons of Prince Louis were filling with a formidable company. M. de Girardin appeared, bringing the power of 'La Presse;' M. Thiers rallied the 'Constitutionnel;' the Monarchical parties followed with 'L'Assemblée nationale' and the 'Gazette de France;' M. de la Guéronnière brought an eloquent pamphlet;[2] and lastly M. Victor Hugo made his bow in the salons of Prince Louis, and laid 'L'Événement' at his feet. To the adhesion of the poet the Prince attached little value. After an interview with him he put him aside as a vain dreamer, and thus made him a lifelong enemy.

In the provinces the papers were even more generally in favour of the Prince's candidature than in Paris.

So complete had the popular declaration for the heir of Napoleon become early in November, that even the political chiefs who had believed for a moment that the vote of the people would raise them to the Presidency gave up all hope for themselves, and resolved to oppose General Cavaignac, Ledru-Rollin, and Raspail in favour of the Prince. Changarnier and Bugeaud followed the example

[1] *Histoire de la République*, 1848. Par Victor Pierre. É. Plon et Cie. Paris, 1873.

[2] See Appendix I.

of Thiers, and were seen at the Bonapartist head-quarters with Montalembert, Molé, Léon Faucher, M. de Falloux, Boulay de la Meurthe, De Persigny, and Baraguay d'Hilliers. As the cause of the Prince grew in strength that of the Chief of the Executive paled, through the divisions of the Republicans, his own uncertain conduct, and the blunders of his Ministers.

The care of directing the election for the Government through prefectoral agencies devolved upon M. Dufaure, who, on November 2, addressed a circular to his prefects, enjoining them to be in frequent relations with the officials of their departments, and to impress on them the real interests of the Republic. 'They will easily understand,' said the Minister, 'that its future depends very much on the citizen who will preside over its destinies; that the nation ought, in her choice, to be careful to confide herself to an irreproachable past, to an incontestable patriotism, to an energetic and a masculine resolution already tried in the service of the Republic, rather than to vain and false promises.'[1] A week afterwards, on the eve of the fête of the Constitution, General Cavaignac issued his address to the nation. He declared that he did not make common cause with the exclusive Republicans, nor with the promoters of disorder. The Republic, which had been the faith of a small number of citizens, had been, on the day when France was without a Government, acclaimed by the entire nation; and he appealed to the nation, and not to a fraction of it. He pronounced in favour of an alliance between the clergy and the State. At the same time his officials worked upon the population in the provinces. Schoolmasters, while they were reminded that the fund of 1,100,000 francs, which the Assembly had voted them, was

[1] *Histoire de la République de* 1848. Par Victor Pierre, 1873.

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about to be distributed, were discreetly begged to show their gratitude to the Republic. The Assembly, in support of the General, opened funds in the departments for the relief of the workless. Cavaignac himself became active, showing himself daily. He reviewed the Garde Mobile, dined with the clergy at the archiepiscopal palace, inspected the National Printing Office, pardoned condemned insurgents of June, and assisted at the departure of a party of colonists for Algeria. But all to no purpose. His rival gained upon him every hour. Then arose the famous debate on the 'Fragment d'Histoire,' by M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, in which he accused General Cavaignac of having designedly held back on June 23, in order to strike a blow that would give him the dictatorship. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire was but the mouthpiece of certain members of the Executive Commission, of whom only M. Garnier-Pagès declared himself; MM. Duclerc and Pagnerre, who were parties to the 'Fragment,' were merely subordinates. The charge is proof of the passion that underlay political life at the time. It was the baseless conception of discomfited men of the third rank, who were ready to assail their successful adversary with any weapon. General Cavaignac met it boldly in the Assembly, and in a debate, in which his earnestness gave him eloquence, he utterly confounded his assailants, and possibly improved somewhat his desperate chances at the election. This happened on November 24. On the morrow the General adopted the offensive, and roundly rated the Executive Commission as a body whom he knew to be his opponents, although Lamartine, Arago, and Marie refused to be drawn into the debate. In a masterly speech he reviewed calmly, and here and there in a lively vein of satire, the transactions of June, and his relations with the Commission and Generals Lamoricière and Bedeau, who had co-operated with him;

and he concluded in a fiery peroration, in which he asked whether he was a traitor or whether he had answered all that had been said and insinuated against him. MM. Garnier-Pagès and Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire made miserable figures in reply, and the debate was brought to a close by General Cavaignac's solemn declaration that he had withdrawn from all action in common with M. Ledru-Rollin, and there was no hope that they would meet again —a remark that was received with great applause. The Assembly, by an almost unanimous vote, again declared that the General had deserved well of his country. The vote was important, not as giving the Chief of the Executive a chance of obtaining his election as Chief Magistrate by the direct vote of the people, but as assuring him, in the event of his adversary not obtaining two-thirds of the number of voters, election by the Assembly.[1]

Immediately after General Cavaignac's success in the Assembly Prince Louis Napoleon addressed himself formally to his fellow-citizens as a candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the Republic. Before issuing his address the Prince took counsel with his friends on its form, and particularly with MM. Thiers and Émile de Girardin.

The manifesto contained this phrase: 'The Republic must be generous.' 'This is imprudent!' exclaimed M. Thiers. 'An amnesty while the blood shed in the battle of June on the stones of the barricades is still warm! The bourgeoisie will protest loudly. This is not the time for generosity, but for going skilfully to work.' M. Thiers objected to a second paragraph. The Prince said: 'I shall engage my honour to leave, at the end of four years, to my successor, the public powers consolidated, liberty intact, and real progress accomplished.' 'What are you going to do?' M. Thiers exclaimed. 'Beware of any

[1] According to the law, if no candidate obtained two-thirds of the votes recorded, the right of election was with the Assembly.

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engagements of this description'—this from the politician who afterwards constituted himself the champion of the Constitution which he advised the Prince to treat lightly. In short, M. Thiers was of opinion that the Prince's manifesto was extremely obscure; and he sent him another, written, at his suggestion, by his friend M. de Rémusat. The two documents were submitted by the Prince to Émile de Girardin for his opinion. 'I think,' said the great journalist, 'that the first has life, like nature, while the second, on the contrary, is pale, like a copy traced through glass. Show yourself as you are; that is the best course.'[1] The Prince's own manifesto was adopted, was issued on November 27, and was received with enthusiasm. It was addressed 'To my Fellow-citizens,' and ran thus:—

'In order to recall me from exile you elected me a representative of the people: on the eve of electing the First Magistrate of the Republic my name comes before you as the symbol of order and security.

'These testimonies of a confidence so flattering are addressed rather to a name than to myself, who have as yet done nothing for my country; but the more the memory of the Emperor protects me, and enlists your suffrages, the more I feel compelled to make known to you my sentiments and my principles. There must be nothing doubtful between you and me.

'If I were President, I would shrink from no danger, from no sacrifice, to defend society, now so audaciously attacked; I should devote myself entirely, without afterthought, to the consolidation of a Republic wise in its laws, honest in its intentions, great and strong by its acts.

'I should engage my honour to leave to my successor, at the end of four years, authority strengthened, liberty intact a real progress accomplished

[1] *Napoléon III.* Par Albert Mansfeld. Tome premier, 1869.

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'Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people, and my co-operation is promised beforehand to any just and firm Government that shall re-establish order in the public mind as well as in things; that shall efficaciously protect religion, the family, property—the eternal bases of every social State; that shall undertake reasonable reforms, calm hatreds, reconcile parties, and thus permit our anxious country to rely on a to-morrow.

'To re-establish order is to bring back confidence, to supply by credit the passing lack of resources, to restore the finances, and to reanimate commerce.

'To protect religion and the family is to establish liberty of worship and freedom of education.

'To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the product of every description of labour; it is to guarantee the independence and the security of possession —indispensable foundations of civil liberty.

'As regards practicable reforms, here are those which appear to me to be most urgent:—To admit every saving that, without disorganising the public service, will allow the reduction of the taxes which press the hardest on the people; to encourage undertakings which, by developing agriculture, say, in France and Algeria, give work to those who want it; to provide for the old age of working men by establishing benefit societies; to introduce into our industrial legislation modifications tending not to ruin the rich for the profit of the poor, but to base the prosperity of each on that of all.

'To restrain within proper limits the employments which depend on the State, and which often make of a free people a nation of mendicants. To avoid that shameful tendency which leads the State, to undertake works which private enterprise can do as well—or even better. The

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centralisation of interests is of the essence of despotism. The republican nation abhors monopoly.

'In fine, to guard the liberty of the press from the two excesses which always compromise it—tyranny and its own license.

'With war there can be no comfort for our sufferings. Peace, then, would be the dearest of my desires. France during the first revolution was warlike because she was forced to be so. She answered invasion by conquest. Now that she is not provoked she can apply her resources to pacific improvements without foregoing a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation should be silent, or never speak in vain.

'To have a care for the national dignity is to think of the army, the noble and disinterested patriotism of which has been often misunderstood. While maintaining the fundamental laws which make the strength of our military organisation, the burden of the conscription must be lightened, not aggravated. The present and future, not only of the officers, but also of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, must be watched, so that a retreat may be assured to all men who have seen long service.

'The Republic should be generous and have faith in the future. I, who have known exile and captivity, pray heartily for the day when the country can, without danger, put an end to all proscriptions, and wipe away the last traces of our civil discords.

'These are, my dear fellow-citizens, the ideas I should bring to the exercise of my power, should you call me to the Presidency of the Republic.

'The task is a difficult one, the mission is immense, I know it; but I should not despair of accomplishing it by calling to the work, without distinction of party, the men whose high intelligence and probity recommend them to public opinion.

'When one has the honour to be at the head of the French people, there is, however, an infallible way of doing good: it is to resolve to do it.

'LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.'

This address bore in every part of it the stamp of the Prince's mind. It showed him as he was, and as he had been from early manhood, and it proved 'the best course,' as M. de Girardin had anticipated. The importance of presenting to the country a manifesto that should bear the unmistakable impress of the Prince's intellect, his culture, and the real bent of his opinions had been impressed on all his friends and supporters by the daily attacks, taking humorous and serious forms, that were being made on him as a tired man of pleasure, without brains or any idea in life save that of obtaining personal advantage out of his position as the heir of Napoleon. The 'Charivari' burlesqued his movements and caricatured his features down to the level of those of an Aztec. The 'Siècle' led the way in deliberate and persistent misrepresentations of his claim to be regarded as a student of governments, societies, and men.

Among those who stood forward to defend him was M. Ferdinand Barrot, his old advocate and faithful friend. In a letter published in the 'Siècle' on November 19 M. Barrot said: 'And first a word on all the charges of incapacity—the common weapons of personal polemics, and which are being used with vigour and effrontery. Exile and a prison directed the studies of the Prince. For twenty years he has been listening to their sharp counsel, and applying them to all the serious questions which have agitated our tribunals and our press. In other times the "National" itself gave to the writings of the studious exile praises which could not be refused to him to-day if impartiality were not now thrown aside. Let men of special knowledge be questioned; let M. François Arago be asked what

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he thinks, and what he has said of the "History of Artillery"—a work which is the result of the long and cruel solitude of Ham—and then men will know the worth of these anecdotes got up with art and persistently disseminated to illustrate the incapacity of an awkward adversary by the official and officious friends of other candidates.'

In a subsequent passage M. Barrot endeavours to explain why the Prince's candidature prospered apace. 'Instead of endeavouring to find a reason for the general impetus towards Louis Napoleon in the memories of the past, it would be rational to look for it, and it would be found, in the actual condition of things. The accumulated faults, the disasters, and the menaces which fill the public mind, the doubts which arise daily and cloud the future, have made the fortune of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte's candidature.'

The vindication by M. Barrot was supported by M. Boulay de la Meurthe, who, on December 1, published his reasons for voting for the Prince.

'I shall vote for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte,' he said, 'because he is beyond question the candidate of that immense majority which, having neither made nor desired the Republic, accepted it loyally on the condition that it should be honest and moderate; because, being a stranger to our past quarrels, he is beyond any other in a position to appeal to all that is pure and elevated in the various parties to form a great and glorious national party; because to-day he alone can bring back to the Republic the hearts which the exclusive Republicans have alienated; because he is the only candidate whose success will annihilate nobody; because no other candidate offers, as he offers, guarantees of reconciliation, peace, order, and security; *because his works proclaim extensive and serious studies*; because his long captivity attests a great moral

strength, and his conduct since the Revolution of February has been *full of wisdom, dignity, and patriotism*; because *he appears completely in his manifesto*; because he bears honourably the most glorious name; because, inheritor of this name, he understands that the only means to add a new lustre to it is not by war, is not by the Empire, but by the salvation of the Republic; because in his inheritance he finds this prediction already more than thirty years old —describing the destiny of Europe as, in fifty years, Cossack or Republican; because his candidature delights the people; because there is something providential in it, and this acclamation of the great name of Napoleon, which has lasted for half a century, seems really to be the voice of God.'

Two days later M. Thiers publicly proclaimed his adhesion, if not to the cause, to the candidature of the Prince. In a letter dated December 3 he wrote to M. Frédéric Boutet of the 'Écho rochelais:' 'The reasons which have made us repel General Cavaignac are his relations with the coterie called that of the 'National'— an incapable and disorganising minority, which is antipathetic to France. M. Louis Bonaparte will at least have the advantage of freeing us from the incubus of this minority. I consider him, as an individual, at least equal to General Cavaignac.... M. Molé estimates M. Louis Bonaparte as I estimate him myself. The Prince is sole author of his manifesto—take this for certain. And now all I can say to you is that, without affirming that this nomination is good, it appears to us moderate men the least evil one, and I advise you to support it with all your strength.'[1]

[1] M. Thiers had said, before he saw reason to support it, that the election of Prince Louis Bonaparte would be a disgrace to France. When subsequently taxed with this in the Chamber, he denied it; whereupon M. Bixio affirmed most positively that he had heard the words fall from M. Thiers's lips. M. Thiers sent two friends to M. Bixio to de-

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Before December Marshal Bugeaud had given up his dream of the Presidency for himself. Three days after M. Thiers addressed the editor of the 'Écho rochelais' the Marshal explained his vote for Napoleon. 'I admit,' he wrote, 'that there was reason to hesitate a little before Napoleon—he was so unknown to us. But could there be any hesitation before the son of the *conventionnel* Cavaignac—the son who glories in the career of his father? I prefer the little-known descendant of Napoleon to the nominee of the "National" in the person of Cavaignac.'[1]

This was the light in which many waverers of such bodies as the Committees of the Rue de Poitiers and the Institute looked upon the struggle. It was not only that every day Prince Louis's popularity as the candidate of order and authority increased; but that of his antagonist steadily diminished, in spite of his parades, the devotion of his adherents, and the vast electoral machinery which was at the command of M. Dufaure.

The electoral conflict was at the last moment carried to new ground. General Cavaignac had not been fortunate in his Italian policy. As he descended from the tribune of the Assembly on November 25 he received the news of the assassination of Count Rossi. Without a moment's hesitation he turned to M. de Corcelle, whom he had known in Africa as a zealous Papist, and said: 'We must hasten to the help of the Pope.' Orders were

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mand satisfaction, and a duel took place in the Bois de Boulogne on October 20, 1849. Two shots were exchanged without effect, and honour was declared to be satisfied. The harmless encounter provoked much merriment in the Chamber, and the following couplet was circulated:—

Les pistolets étaient de liége
Et les balles également!

Afterwards MM. de Graville and d'Engouville solemnly corroborated M. Bixio's affirmation.

[1] *Histoire de la République de 1848.* Par Victor Pierre. É. Plon et Cie, 1873. Deux tomes.

at once given to the Toulon fleet to embark the Mollière brigade, 3,500 strong, at Marseilles; and on the 27th M. de Corcelle started for Rome, to offer the hospitality of France to the Pope in the name of the French Republic. The friends of the Chief of the Executive loudly proclaimed his 'generous invitation,' and were proceeding to turn it to the best account, in spite of the opposition of MM. Jules Favre and Ledru-Rollin in the Assembly, when the Pope went quietly away to Gaeta. The Republic lost the honour of entertaining his Holiness, and Cavaignac a considerable political capital.

Prince Louis was absent when M. de Corcelle's mission, backed by the Mollière brigade, was debated in the Assembly; [1] but he explained his view of it in two letters—the first addressed to the 'Constitutionnel' and the 'Presse,' and the second to the Pope himself. In the first, while protesting against the armed intervention, he expressed his sympathy with the liberty and authority of the Pope; and in the second he protested that there was no complicity between him and the Prince of Canino, his cousin, who was one of the chiefs of the Roman revolution. He added: 'I deplore with all my heart that he has not yet felt that the maintenance of the temporal sovereignty of the venerable Chief of the Church is intimately connected with the *éclat* of Catholicism, as well as with the liberty and independence of Italy.' 'Here, then,' says M. Victor Pierre, 'are two men, the traditions of whose family and whose party have long constituted them adversaries of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope; but they are both candidates. The one, after ambiguous declarations, finds himself forced, keeping his succession in view, to salute in express terms the sovereignty against which he formerly fought in person; the

[1] November 30.

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other sends troops to Rome, and leaves it uncertain whether he is only protecting the person of the Pontiff or whether, at the same time, he is not defending the power of the sovereign. These contradictions and palinodes are elasticities of opinion, the spectacle of which is only too common in electoral struggles; but we must look to the moral necessity which compelled them, and see how the Roman question, from the beginning, appeared suddenly as a really national one, and one which touched the heart of France.'

But Prince Louis did not declare war to the sovereignty of the Pope when he took up arms in the Romagna; and his subsequent policy was in accordance with his letter to Pius at Gaeta.

It was while the Roman question was still fevering the public mind that the Presidential election took place. Not only was the Roman expedition unfavourable to the Cavaignac vote. On December 6 the public were startled with a list of persons who, as sufferers by reason of their Republican opinions before February, or during the revolution, were to receive national rewards. This list included the heirs of Fieschi and Pepin and the sister of Lecomte, and was denounced as a systematic reward of regicides, assassins, and promoters of insurrection. In vain M. Dufaure withdrew the list, and showed that the Government never intended to act upon it, and that the papers of criminal offenders had been carelessly mixed up with those of political offenders; the criminals to be pensioned were dubbed 'General Cavaignac's pensioners.' M. Victor Hugo's paper said each name should be a loss of 20,000 votes to the General.

Is was made quite clear to the Assembly, on the day when the lists appeared, that neither General Cavaignac nor any member of his Government wished to put *forçats* in a list with Republicans who had suffered for their

opinions; but time pressed. The poison had gone forth, and before the antidote could, in the ordinary course, follow, it would have done its work. In their difficulty the Government kept back the mails for two hours, and by this bold measure managed to get the antidote into the bags with the poison. On the morrow the Assembly justified the Government; but M. Boulay de la Meurthe observed that 'the mails would not have been delayed for M. Ledru-Rollin;' and his words were repeated far and wide, and impressed upon the public mind the idea that General Cavaignac was an unfairly privileged candidate.

From December 7 the General ceased to appear in the Assembly until after the election, and Prince Louis kept within doors. The Government had taken every possible precaution against disorder, or attempts at an insurrection on the part of the Mountain. The troops were plentiful and were well supplied with ammunition. Squads of police were on the alert in every part of Paris. But there was no need for their intervention. The public thoroughfares were crowded before and on the day of election; there were stormy meetings of the clubs formed into electoral committees; turbulent hosts were massed in permanence in the Place Vendôme; there were cries of 'Down with Cavaignac!' and other noisy expressions of popular passion; but in Paris, as in the provinces, the French nation voted by the million without riot or even the threat of riot.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

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THE reaction against the Republic and the Republicans which followed close upon the events of June could not be withstood even by the dictatorship of General Cavaignac. He and the Moderate Republicans found themselves assailed on the one hand by the Monarchists, and by the ever-increasing party of order, who were frightened by the Red spectre, and by the workfolk who could not earn their daily bread; and, on the other, by the ultra-Democrats and Socialists, who denounced the arbitrary measures which a republic, as well as a monarchy, is compelled to adopt for the repression and extinction of civil war.[1] The days of June dealt a death-blow to the Republic, albeit they raised a staunch and uncompromising Republican general to a military dictatorship. The bloodshed over, and quiet restored in the streets, the Republicans, on the one hand, began to quarrel among themselves, and hereby to show their inability to form a strong and settled Government; on the other, Conservatives of all parties, factions, or shades of politics drew gradually together in fear of more street-fighting and social anarchy to come. The provincial commissaries, the riotous and subversive clubs set up in every petty

[1] 'Terrible responsabilité que celle qui pèse sur le chef d'un pouvoir sorti de la guerre civile, et obligé de subir les conséquences de son origine: transportation sans jugement, arrestations arbitraires, suspension de la liberté de la presse, de la liberté de réunion.'—*Tacite Delord.*

departmental town and in many hamlets, the Robespierre attitudes of village mayors, had at length sickened the peaceful, saving urban and agricultural populations of the provinces. When the Revolution broke out, and Louis Philippe's all-powerful bourgeoisie was routed, in provincial towns as well as Paris, the immense class of small land- and shop-owners dreamed that their day of triumph had dawned, and the whole country was gay with painted masts and flags. The rejoicing democracy danced and played revolutionary airs under the tricolour. But the festival was of short duration. The emissaries whom the Provisional Government sent to the provinces proved cruel and incapable masters. Industry stood still; the agriculturist feared for his crops, the petty manufacturer was without customers, while both heard that Government in Paris was supporting 100,000 workmen at the rate of two francs each a day. The decree of March 16, which imposed an additional forty-five centimes on the direct taxation, was the crown of the countryfolk's sorrow.

In order to understand the strong Conservative current of opinion which always flows under the turbulent revolutionary tide of French life, we must carefully note the lasting effect of the first revolution upon the institutions and condition of the people. The land is owned, not by great landlords, but in hectares, by hosts of agriculturists who till their own soil. In 1848 the *grands aieliers* had not sucked in the *petits ateliers*. The manufacturers with two, or at most three, looms set up in their own homes were the great producing power of the country. The barrack factories were regarded by the master workmen, whom they were to engulf, with anger and disdain. Both in agricultural and manufacturing France, therefore, there was an imposing force of small owners and small manufacturers, whose interests were antagonistic to those of the great capitalist, and who were Republican or

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Liberal, but, before all, were sticklers for order and the antagonists of every movement or event that affected the steady accumulation of their small savings. These are the citizens whom the Republicans have always described as ignorant brutes, because they have never been persuaded to value the freedom that is unaccompanied with order and quiet, and have steadily regarded the plantings of trees of Liberty in their country as the dissemination of the upas, which kills everything around it.

This great class voted in a body for Prince Louis Napoleon on December 10, 1848. They listened to the slanders and the songs, and they looked over the caricatures, propagated by the supporters of General Cavaignac to injure Prince Louis Napoleon. They were tolerant of the stories about the Cavaignac family as the pensioner of criminals, the ally of the Socialists and builders of barricades, which were freely told to the detriment of the Chief of the Executive. They voted for order and authority—for settled times, for quiet streets—because they wanted to be at work and to renew the old happiness of saving. It was magnificent weather when all the men of France turned out to march each to his cantonal voting-place. The Bonapartists were clever enough to say that it was the sun of Austerlitz that was shining down on the peaceful hosts of electors. The village bumpkins in holiday dress marched forth, headed by the curé and the mayor. The townsfolk repaired to the voting-places without indulging in dangerous manifestations. The day, throughout France, passed without riot; and then succeeded, not a time of doubt, for there was none as to who had been elected Chief Magistrate of the Republic, but a period of uneasy speculation and of inaction.

The Ministers and their chief no longer held receptions. In the Assembly and on the Bourse there reigned a listless inactivity. The representatives could

not be prevailed upon to proceed with the business on the paper. They would hardly tolerate the reading of reports on petitions. On the 11th they fixed at eleven the number of organic laws to be voted by them before their dissolution, they regulated the order in which the President of the Republic was to be proclaimed, and they re-established imprisonment for debt; but day after day they waited in idleness the counting of the votes, and from the 13th their commission of thirty members, who were charged with the verification of the electoral reports, announced every morning the progress they had made. They were dismayed with the steady increase of Prince Louis's majority. On the 19th the President declared that he could not fix a day to proclaim the election of the First Magistrate.

Yet at that moment the day had already been fixed. Early on the morrow morning the Parisians were surprised to find a column of cavalry and infantry occupying the Champs Élysées. Pedestrians from the left bank of the river found the gates of the Tuileries closed. The representatives beheld the Assembly surrounded with troops, and officers in brilliant uniforms filling the Salle des Pas Perdus. The troops were confined to their barracks. The day wore on —almost to an end—under these exciting outward manifestations; and still Paris was uninformed as to the cause of the precautions in every part of the city, and the military display inside and outside the Assembly. In the afternoon a representative endeavoured to excite the attention of the Chamber by a motion for reprinting the works of Laplace, but the loud hum of conversation made his speech so much dumb show. The servants lit the lamps at four o'clock, and immediately afterwards there was a stir at the entrance of the Chamber. Then General Lebreton, questor of the Assembly, appeared in full uniform at the head of about forty representatives

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who had been charged with the verification of the departmental lists, and at once M. Waldeck-Rousseau read the report. But the conclusions of the report were already known. The President of the Republic, beyond dispute, was Prince Louis Napoleon. The enemies who had intended to make an effort to invalidate his election by declaring that he had forfeited his rights as a French citizen in Switzerland had hushed their plot. By general consent it had been admitted that no opposition was possible to the imposing majority which the Prince had obtained over all his opponents. As he entered the crowded Assembly all eyes were turned upon him, and very few had a friendly expression. He was the conqueror in the presence of the vanquished. In evening dress, and with the rosette of representative and the grand cross of the Legion of Honour (bestowed upon him by Napoleon while he was in his cradle) upon his breast, he made his way with grave dignity to his usual place near M. Vieillard, bowing in the old manner of Frenchmen to those who saluted him. The tedious report-reading was over. A solemn silence came over the Chamber, while General Cavaignac ascended the tribune, and said that the Ministers had placed their resignation in his hands, and that he, in his turn, gave back to the Assembly, with thanks for its kindnesses, the power they had confided to him. The applause continued until the General had resumed his seat near M. Sénard.

Then M. Marrast, who was in the Presidential chair, rose and announced that Citizen Louis Bonaparte, having obtained an absolute majority of votes, and being eligible according to Article 24 of the Constitution, was proclaimed by the National Assembly President of the French Republic from that day until the second Sunday in May 1852, and was invited to ascend the tribune and take the oath.

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Then, for the first time, appeared in an official scene the figure that was destined to become familiar to France and to Europe—a thoughtful, pale face, overcast with such sadness as years of care set upon a man's aspect; the broad brow, lightly covered with fair hair; the blue eyes, veiled, but flushing at intervals; a slight figure, slow in movement and dignified in carriage. The inquisitive, hostile Assembly could find no fault with the dignified and courteous gentleman, who bowed and prepared to take the oath as invited by their president. The said president was performing a duty that manifestly went against the grain with him. The spectacle was a sombre one in the dimly-lighted chamber while M. Marrast read out the oath.

'In the presence of God, and before the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic and to defend the Constitution.'

The Prince raised his hand, and said 'I swear.'

M. Marrast again raised a solemn voice, and said: 'I take God to witness the oath that has been sworn. It will be inserted in the *procès verbal* in the "Moniteur," and will be published in the form prescribed for public oaths.'

Then the Prince took a paper from his pocket, composedly unfolded it, and read, with a clear, sonorous voice:—

'Citizen Representatives,—The suffrages of the nation, the oath I have just sworn, command my future conduct and indicate my duties.

'I shall regard as enemies to the country all who may endeavour by illegal means to change the form of government which you have established.

'There can be no disagreement between you and me. Like you, I desire to establish society on its true bases. I seek the prosperity of those intelligent and generous people who have given me so great a mark of their confidence.

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'The policy of France should be peace abroad and a spirit of conciliation at home.

'I have called to my council honourable men who, being sprung from various origins, are a guarantee of conciliation.

'I should thank the seceding powers for the efforts which they have made to maintain order. The conduct of General Cavaignac has been worthy of his character and of the mission which the Assembly had confided to him.

'The Government will be neither Utopian nor reactionary. We will make the happiness of the country, and we hope that, with the blessing of God, if we do not accomplish great things, we shall endeavour to do good things.'

At the conclusion of this address the Assembly rose and shouted 'Long live the Republic!' while the Prince President slowly descended from the tribune and took his seat for a moment near his first Minister, M. Odilon Barrot. He then moved deliberately, and with an easy grace, while the representatives jumped upon their seats to catch a glimpse of him, to the bench in the Left Centre where General Cavaignac was seated, and tendered him his hand, saying: 'I could not receive the Executive power from worthier hands than yours.' It is said by some that the General faintly and hesitatingly took the Prince's hand, while others maintain that his response was strictly courteous. Certainly the cause of the Republic gained nothing by those who represented Cavaignac as wanting in courtesy to his foe.

According to M. Delord, the President's speech on taking the oath was coldly received, an indefinable doubt paralysing the hands of the representatives.[1] They

[1] 'La voix du Président de la République parut s'animer en lisant le second paragraphe de son allocution; les applaudissements n'éclatèrent pas; un sentiment de doute indéfinissable retint les mains des représen-

would not respond to the firmness and warmth with which he read the paragraph in which he declared that he would regard as the country's enemies all who might attempt to change the form of government by illegal means.[1] General Cavaignac had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the new President, but he had good reason to fear the steadfastness of the Republicans. M. Delord admits that he did doubt them, and that it was for this reason he fell. He wavered, and became incapable as a political leader, because he could put no trust in his troops. He believed in discipline. He could not, as a soldier, understand equality. The military hierarchy was his model for all society; and seeing that all the higher grades in the political, academical, financial, and industrial camps were held by Royalists, he felt alone amid the

tants.'—*Histoire du Second Empire*, 1848–1869. Taxile Delord. Vol. i. p. 127.

[1] 'Great was the eagerness of everyone to know the opinion that had been formed in England of the Prince Louis Napoleon. It was only known that he was looked on there as a perfect gentleman; but nobody could understand why he should have had himself sworn in as a special constable on the occasion of the Chartist demonstration of the 10th of April, and various were the reasons assigned.

'His first speech in the Legislative Assembly was expected to be an explanation of his policy; it was, however, brief and modest. The election of the Prince as President of the Republic may be considered as a national triumph, as it certainly proved a national benefit; for he immediately took steps to organise a competent Ministry, and commenced carrying into effect the improvements that his mind had long been engaged in studying. His speeches, his addresses, gave evidence of a vigorous intelligence, and he now and then astonished his Ministers by the boldness of his language. This was the case at the inauguration of the railroad at Dijon, on which occasion he delivered an address which M. Léon Faucher, his then Prime Minister, took care to alter before he gave it publicity. The Prince had occasion sometimes to change his Ministry, according as circumstances permitted, but his selections uniformly gave satisfaction to the country. The station of Minister of Finance was filled for the most part by M. Achille Fould, who, amid all the varied changes in the political world, has maintained a well-deserved popularity, whilst his attachment to the Emperor has been both political and personal.'—*Gronow.*

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Republicans. They included no persons of the rank he could respect, no personages of authority with whom he could act in confidence; hence his indecision immediately after the days of June, when he might have taken the Presidential chair amid the acclamations of all classes of his countrymen. If General Cavaignac gave the President of the Republic a cold greeting, it was because he was as undecided how to behave under his discomfiture as he had been in the moment of victory.

The scene closed with the solemn departure of the Prince President, accompanied by three questors nominated by the Assembly to conduct him to the Elysée National with the ceremonies due to his rank. So hurriedly and quietly had the event of the day been prepared, that the palace to which the President of the Republic was conducted had not a single room arranged for his reception. But the Prince was a man of simple habits. A bed, a table, and a chair sufficed for the new host of the Élysée, who had returned to one of the haunts of his childhood after being a wanderer for forty years.

CHAPTER V.

PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON PRESIDENT.

CHAP. V.

DURING the fifteen days over which the excitement of the Presidential election lasted the Rente rose fifteen francs—a rise unprecedented even on the easily-excited Exchange of Paris. This rise continued from day to day while the returns were being brought in, until the complete list showed the following results:—

Number of Votes recorded . . .	7,327,345
The Citizen Napoleon Bonaparte . . .	5,434,226
The Citizen Cavaignac	1,448,107
The Citizen Ledru-Rollin	370,119
The Citizen Raspail	36,920
The Citizen Lamartine	17,910
The Citizen Changarnier	4,790
Informal Votes	12,600[1]

Prince Louis Napoleon had a majority of three millions and a half of voters over all his antagonists combined, and of nearly four millions over General Cavaignac. Never had the Reds received so imposing a lesson. There were four Moderate candidates—viz. Prince Louis, Cavaignac, Lamartine,[2] and Changarnier—and these polled nearly

[1] These returns are exclusive of Algeria and Corsica. The entire returns were to have been carefully analysed and verified, but the work was never done.

[2] Charles de Forster, in his *Political Studies—Du Royaume à l'Empire*, describes M. de Lamartine as the fallen angel of 1848, and dismisses him with these just reflections: 'Two millions of suffrages bore him to the Constituent Assembly; he was, so to speak, the appointed chief of the future Government. In spite of this, he continued so to muddle public affairs that his po-

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seven millions of votes, while Ledru-Rollin and Raspail combined mustered only four hundred thousand. But this fact stood out before all others—that Prince Napoleon was the elect of France. His success was so crushing to his adversaries that the reasonable among them gave up all idea of further conflict. Cavaignac's defeat routed the last remnants of the Moderate Republican party; and when, immediately after leaving the Chamber, the President of the Republic sent a message to the effect that he had charged M. Odilon Barrot with the duty of forming a Ministry, the dying Constituent Assembly, in rage and anguish, heard a voice that was stronger than any which had been raised since the days of February, against which they would struggle in vain. It was the voice of the nation demanding an account of nine months of anarchy and waste, of plots and counter-plots, inspired by selfish passions, of party leaders each fighting for himself over a bleeding country. It was the voice of France dismissing its representatives, who had cast together a Constitution of shreds and patches, here tricolour to please the Orleanists, there white to conciliate the Legitimists, and here red in deference to the Mountain, but nowhere violet; for Orleanists, Legitimists, and Republicans had torn every scrap that appeared of this hated colour to atoms.

And yet five millions and a half of Frenchmen had

litical incapacity became notorious, and France withdrew from him. At the last elections he was not nominated even in his own department, which always sent him to Parliament under the Monarchy. Sad but useless lesson! M. de Lamartine, who persists in adoring himself, believes that it is ingratitude. [This refers to his *Confidences* and *Raphael*, published soon after the events of June.] No, no! it is sound practical sense. The country wished to leave the poet the leisure to bring out his poetical works. By these, and by these alone, M. de Lamartine will go down to posterity. As regards his public acts, it is very different. They are already judged by contemporaries, and the stigma of history awaits them.'

voted violet, and had thus condemned the patchwork. On the evening of May 4 there was a reception in M. de Lamartine's hôtel after the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly. M. de Falloux approached the host, and asked him what were the plans about a Constitution. 'A Constitution!' said the poet; 'it is the merest trifle. Ask Lamennais or Béranger for a draft of one; they will turn it out in a day or two'[1] The trifle was wrangled over for a month or two; but it was hardly so good a work in the end as Lamennais could have produced, although M. Thiers criticised every clause of it, and worried it at every stage, playing throughout the debates the part of an inconvenient and embarrassing opponent.[2]

On the day when Prince Louis Napoleon entered the empty Élysée as President of the French Republic, while the friends of his family gathered round him, while the people were cheering him as 'the providential man' who was to give them back peace and bread, and while men of business were trimming their shops anew and financiers were hailing the sudden return of public confidence, the fabricators of the Constitution by which he was to be bound set to work to accomplish his discomfiture by its articles; and even the Left, who had fought against every clause as a prison bar, were comforted, seeing that by it they could thwart the policy of the man whom five millions and a half of their countrymen had appointed to the Chief Magistracy. The men who paid lip-service to the sovereignty of the people were the fiercest enemies of their elect. In his address to his fellow-citizens Prince Louis had protested that he was anxious to form a thoroughly national party out of the scattered statesmen

[1] *Revue des Deux Mondes*. February 15, 1851. *Les Républicains et les Monarchistes*, par M. de Falloux.

[2] 'Le rôle d'un contradicteur incommode et gênant.'—*Victor Pierre.*

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of the various dynastic and republican parties and factions. The nation had entrusted him with this patriotic duty; but, with unanimous meanness and dishonesty, the Legitimist and Orleanist leaders who had voted for him, and directed the votes of their supporters, seeing that the Prince, of whom they desired to make a tool, was not of malleable stuff, but rather a born chief who had meditated on government, and had national views and a State policy of his own, began to plot each in his own artful way to destroy him. On the morrow of the 10th, when, although the returns had not been gathered in, there was no doubt as to the result, the Constituent Assembly decreed that they would consider and pass ten organic laws before separating. The responsibility of the depositaries of public authority, the Council of State, the electoral law, the departmental and commercial organisations, the reform of the judicature, popular education, the organisation of the public forces, including the National Guard, the press, the state of siege, and the organisation of poor relief, were the subjects on which this Assembly, whose candidate had just suffered a signal defeat at the polling-places of the entire nation, declared that they would legislate before making way for another Parliament. This resolve meant nothing less than an indefinite postponement of the dissolution, and a permanent attitude of hostility towards the new power which a national vote had placed in the Élysée National. It is true that many of the leading members of the Assembly refrained from voting, or opposed the decree; but it was carried. The country, however, would not suffer the dictation of the Legislative Body it was impatient to dismiss; and the violence with which the press—and especially the provincial press—attacked the decree that meant the indefinite prolongation of its existence warned the representatives that their game was indeed played out. But they were

resolved to die hard. The friends and supporters of Cavaignac had done their very utmost to encompass the victorious candidate with perils and troubles. The people were oppressed with heavy taxation, and had refused to bear more. Every public department had been, in anticipation of defeat, crowded at the last moment with the creatures of Cavaignac's party; so that the Prince found himself surrounded with hungry followers and without a place in his gift. With shameless immorality the defeated party had, between December 10 and 20, made 350 nominations or promotions in the army,[1] and distributed favours on the same scale throughout the public services. The general idea among the majority of the Assembly was that the defeat of the 10th might be retrieved by an organised opposition to the Prince President, in which every attempt on his part to improve the condition of the country should be thwarted, every mistake be exaggerated and turned mercilessly against him, and every movement or proposition on the part of his Ministers should be received with factious hostility. The conduct of the Constituent Assembly towards the Élysée from December 10 to the following summer, when it had been shamed and threatened into final dissolution by cartloads of petitions, by the daily violent protests of an almost unanimous press, and by the pressure of the Prince President's Government, was, in short, opposed to the dearest interests of the nation, and a real calamity to all who were suffering from the effects of the misrule of the Provisional Government, the Executive Commission, and the Cavaignac dictatorship.

The Prince President's first Ministry was formed in

[1] *Histoire parlementaire de la Présidence depuis l'Election du Prince Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte jusqu'au 2 Décembre* 1851. Par Henri Le Mullier, chef d'escadron d'artillerie, ex-membre de l'Assemblée nationale législative. Paris, Garnier Frères. 1852.

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strict accordance with the promise he had made to his fellow-citizens in his electoral address, that, raising himself above the selfish passions of Right and Left, of Right Centre and Left Centre, he would endeavour to call the foremost men of all parties to his Council, and to create a national party, that would have the good of the country, and this alone, for a policy. With the exception of M. Barrot they were not men of the first rank, because the leaders of the Conservative forces who supported the candidature of the Prince withdrew from him on the day of his election. Having their own secret and selfish ends to serve, they declined to help the chief whom the nation had chosen to repair the ruins of a year of revolution; and he had been compelled to beg M. de Lamartine to stand by him, with M. Barrot, should his last effort fail.[1] M. Léon de Malleville became Minister of the Interior, M. Léon Faucher Minister of Public Works, M. de Tracy Minister of Marine, M. Passy Minister of Finance, M. Drouyn de Lhuys Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. de Falloux Minister of Public Instruction, M. Bixio Minister of Commerce, and General Rulhières Minister of War. At the same time General Changarnier received the command of the First Military Division and the National Guard of the Seine, Marshal Bugeaud became Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Alps, and Colonel Rebillot was appointed Prefect of Police. M. Baroche made his first public appearance under Prince Louis as Procureur Général to the Paris Court of Appeal.

This Ministry was recruited from all quarters of the Chamber. The Minister of the Interior had served as Under-Secretary in M. Thiers's Administration, and was of his master's uncertain political colour. M. Léon

[1] See Appendix II.

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Faucher had been a Deputy of the Opposition during the Government of July, and a journalist; he was a Liberal, but opposed to the Governments of the Revolution of 1848. M. de Tracy was a Liberal who had sat on the Left under the Restoration, and was an ardent advocate of the abolition of slavery and the death penalty; M. Passy had been Peer and Minister under Louis Philippe; M. Drouyn de Lhuys had served in diplomacy and as director of the commercial section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the last reign; M. de Falloux represented the interests of the clerical party with the portfolio of Public Instruction in the Cabinet; and M. Bixio, a Moderate Republican, became Minister of Commerce and Agriculture.

The President had the right, according to the Constitution, to nominate three persons, one of whom the Assembly must elect to the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Prince named M. Boulay de la Meurthe, who was his open supporter, and to whom he was drawn by his ardent labours in the cause of *salles d'asile* and primary education; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, son of a general of the Empire; and M. Vivien, one of General Cavaignac's Ministers. In this selection the Prince gave further proof of his desire to open a career to political men of all shades, and to surround himself with a national party. The Assembly elected M. Boulay de la Meurthe, and thus gave the President a Deputy on whose loyalty he might thoroughly rely.

Exactly one week after his assumption of the Presidential office the Prince wrote the following letter to the Minister of the Interior, M. de Malleville:—

Élysée, December 27, 1848.

'Monsieur le Ministre,—Having asked the Prefect of Police whether he did not occasionally receive diplomatic

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reports, he answered in the affirmative, and he added that he gave you yesterday despatches on Italian affairs. These despatches, you should understand, should be brought direct to me, and I am bound to express to you my dissatisfaction at your delay in communicating them to me.

'I beg you also to send me the sixteen packets[1] for which I asked you. I must have them on Thursday. I do not understand why the Minister of the Interior wishes to write articles relating to me personally. This was not done under Louis Philippe, and must not be done.

'Moreover, for some days past I have received no telegraphic despatches. In short, I perceive that the Ministers whom I have appointed pretend to treat me as though the famous Sieyès Constitution were in force; but I shall not suffer it.

'Receive, Monsieur le Ministre, the assurance of my sentiments of high esteem.

'LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

'P.S.—I forgot to tell you that there are still eighty women under lock and key at St. Lazare, one only having been called before a council of war. Tell me whether I have the power to set them at liberty; for, if I have, I shall give orders immediately.'

This letter, which gave the Prince's enemies the measure of his will and an idea of the line of conduct he had traced out for himself, redoubled their hostile activity. M. Thiers's old Under-Secretary resigned, and was accompanied in his retirement by M. Bixio.[2] M. Léon

[1] The official papers on the affairs of Strasburg and Boulogne.

[2] Jacques Alexandre Bixio (brother of the Italian patriot, Nino Bixio) was doctor, naturalist, commercial speculator, writer and politician of the *National* clique, and aeronaut. He was some time Vice-President of the Assembly. After his retirement he was always held

Faucher became Minister of the Interior, and was replaced in the Public Works by M. Lacrosse, M. Buffet taking the portfolio of M. Bixio. The propriety of M. de Malleville's refusal to give up the sixteen packets, part of the archives of his Ministry, was generally commended; but only his party, who were bent upon the overthrow or utter discomfiture of the Prince, could excuse his attempt to withhold despatches from his chief.

The Ministers settled to their work. They and the President found themselves confronted by three opponents, viz. the two Royalist parties and the Republican party in the Constituent Assembly, with M. Thiers the busiest among the enemies of the Élysée. Throughout the remainder of the life of the Assembly M. Thiers played a double part. He fought the Republicans with the Royalist forces, and afterwards allied himself with the Republicans to oppose the Prince President. The two first subjects on which the Assembly strove to deal a blow at the Executive were the expedition to Rome and the Rateau motion. These were not the only obstructions and difficulties that were cast into the President's path. The turbulent Left never ceased casting fiery interpellations into the arena. This was to be expected; but the Moderates, whom M. Thiers directed, went the length of reducing the duty on salt so low as to have an irreparable deficit in the embarrassed finances which MM. Lamartine and Cavaignac had bequeathed to their successor. Day by day, as the Prince President showed a firm resolve to act for himself, and to do his utmost to justify the confidence of the nation by securing order and encouraging on all sides revival of commerce and a good

to be on good terms with Prince Louis; and he used his influence in favour of many men who were imprisoned at the *coup d'état*. He received the cross of the Legion of Honour in May 1849. He died in December 1865, and his funeral, unaccompanied by Church rites, was the occasion of an imposing Socialist demonstration.

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entente between the workmen and the Government, the Royalists with M. Thiers, and the Republicans with M. Ledru-Rollin, sometimes helped by M. Thiers, employed all the strength of desperate men to hamper the Executive and to save themselves from dispersion or from eclipse. They were well assisted outside. The sharp pen of Proudhon never ceased to attack the President. In January 1849 he denounced him as conspiring with all the Monarchical coteries, and proceeded in this strain :—

'A traitor apparelled in the highest functions of the State, he is organising a social bankruptcy and the misery of the people by the deliberate obstinacy with which his Government resists every financial and economic reform. The reaction was not travelling fast enough for Louis Bonaparte. He has dared to defy the Assembly, to defy the Revolution, in signifying to representatives his order that they should dissolve. Well, the Revolution has picked up the glove : the cartel is accepted ; on Monday the fight. Let the Assembly rely on itself, and the result will not be doubtful for one moment. Louis Bonaparte has brought forward the question of the dissolution of the Assembly ; it is well. Next Monday the Assembly will, in its turn, bring forward the question of the discharge of the President. Let representatives remember on Monday the Republic and their own personal dignity, and by a single vote the elect of 5,500,000 suffrages will be no more than the arm, the organ of the Assembly. The President of the Republic will be nothing more than the President of the Council of Ministers.'

Proudhon, while assailing every measure that had the stamp of the Government upon it, puffed and pushed a nostrum of his own. He invited the people to take up his five-franc shares in his Popular Bank. He asked for 5,000,000 francs, but the ungrateful people whom he was to regenerate would not subscribe more than 18,000

francs; and so, presently, the regenerator, his bank, and his paper disappeared. CHAP. V.

But such preaching as that of Proudhon, and such political activity as that of the Ledru-Rollins, the Raspails, and the Barbès, was not without effect. In Paris and in the provinces the public peace was frequently disturbed by demonstrations against the Executive. These were repressed without difficulty; and at the same time the Prince President held calmly on his way. Speaking at the opening ceremony of the railway from Compiègne to Noyon, he said: 'The hopes which my election has raised in the country will not be scattered. I share its prayers for the consolidation of the Republic. I hope that all the parties which have divided the country for forty years will find in my government neutral ground where they may shake hands to the greatness and prosperity of France.' He spoke such words of hope even while the last flickering embers of it were dying out, and it was becoming plain to him that his enemies would give him no truce. His election had only rekindled the hopes of the Bourbonists on the one hand, and of the Republicans on the other. In January, although petitions poured in upon the Constituent Assembly praying that it would dissolve, the Moderate and the Red Republicans combined to assail the President's Government, and to make it odious in the sight of the people. The violence of the Left culminated on January 27, when M. Ledru-Rollin proposed to impeach the Barrot Ministry for having proposed a law empowering the Executive to close the clubs, or electoral committees, which were the scenes of nightly plots and the centres of every insurrectionary movement. The Red representative was well seconded outside. The Republican papers were filled with abuse of the Chief Magistrate, in the vein of Proudhon; and they went the length of demanding that he should be ordered

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to appear at the bar of the Assembly. There was a regular insurrectionary organisation all over the country, its head-quarters being the Paris meeting-place of the Society of Republican Solidarity. At the end of January all was ripe for a general movement. A decree for the reorganisation and reduction of the Garde Mobile had gone forth, and the Reds hoped to be able to use the discontent of the young Guard. The revolutionary chiefs in Paris sat in permanent committee on the night of the 28th. They had forwarded the word to their provincial brethren when to rise. The Assembly was thus menaced within, and the Élysée without. Within, Ledru-Rollin thundered for an impeachment; without, the professional barricade-builders, and leaders of the people from work to civil war and empty cupboards, drew up their forces in secret battle array. Never was a more formidable and a less justifiable insurrection deliberately planned in Paris. Had the Government not been vigilant and courageous, had not the President been well served both in the Chamber and in the streets, the demagogues, supported by a strong body of Mobiles, might have enacted in 1849 such a page of history as that with which they crowned their country's sorrows in 1871.

But the Prefect of the Police, General Rébillot, was not napping. General Changarnier, on his side, was not dozing in false security. He had said: 'The men who lift the paving-stones in the streets will not have an opportunity of replacing them,' and he was in downright earnest. He was not disposed to give an hour's truce to the disturbers of the public peace. In the night of the 28th General Rébillot caused such notables of the Republican Solidarity Society as D'Alton-Shee, Greppo, Baune, and Delescluze to be securely lodged in the Conciergerie; and watched the noisy Mobiles on their way through the streets, under the influence of the dema-

gogues. There were demonstrations in the course of the night outside the offices of the 'Réforme,' the 'Peuple,' and the 'National.' The committees of the Rights of Man and the Friends of the Constitution sat through the small hours, giving finishing touches to the plan of insurrection which, when day broke, was to overthrow the Chief Magistrate whom five millions and a half of Frenchmen had just elected, to scare and paralyse all moderate men, and deliver Paris over to the Ledru-Rollins, the Pyats, the Barbès, and the Proudhons.

In the morning the party of revolution found every strategical point of the capital occupied by troops. But they were not daunted. Colonel Forestier, commanding the 6th Legion of the National Guard, took the side of the insurrectionists, and posted himself, with two more legions of citizen soldiers, in the *mairie* of the 6th Arrondissement. At once Changarnier posted a regiment of the Line outside the *mairie*. Colonel Forestier hereupon sent a letter to M. Marrast, as President of the Assembly, telling him there was no longer any doubt that the Republic was to be destroyed and the Empire established, and offering the Constituent Assembly hospitality in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.[1] At the same time Forestier tried to win over the Line, saying that the President of the Republic was betraying the country. General Rébillot heard of these audacious proceedings, and at once sent a police commissioner, backed by a squadron of cavalry, to bring the Colonel a prisoner to the Conciergerie. The Colonel called upon his officers to rescue him, but not an arm was raised in

[1] On January 29, 1849, General Changarnier wrote to General Forey: 'If that *affreux petit drôle* [Armand Marrast, President of the Constituent Assembly] renews his proposition [to increase the guard of the Assembly by two battalions], turn on your heel and show him your back.'—*Napoléon III.* Par Albert Mansfeld. Paris, 1860.

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opposition to the police. By nightfall the clubs had dispersed, the refractory Mobiles were mastered, and the Conciergerie was full of men who had hoped to sleep that night in the official palaces of Paris.

While the Mountain was suffering defeat in the streets it was experiencing discomfiture in the Assembly. When in the morning the Chamber had been surrounded with troops, to protect it against an incursion of the mob, M. Marrast and his friends pretended that the Executive were trying to intimidate the Assembly, in order to make it pass the Rateau motion, and resolved to question General Changarnier. Should he not give a satisfactory answer, or take refuge behind the authority of the Prince, Louis Napoleon was to be himself called to the bar to explain. Should his explanations not be to the liking of the Assembly, he was to be impeached. But before M. Marrast and his friends proceeded to these extremities M. Odilon Barrot warned them of the peril they were running, and they desisted.

January 29, however, served some of the purposes of the Mountain. When they had been beaten at all points, they adopted their old falsehood, and denounced the conflict as one got up by the police. The President had provoked the *émeute* in order to show the forces which he had at his command and the skill and swiftness with which his generals could make use of them, and in order to prepare the way for a *coup d'état*. The absurdity of this pretension was made manifest when the news reached Paris that, in obedience to signals from the Red clubs and committees in Paris, the Reds of turbulent Marseilles, of Lyons, Macon, Limoges, Troyes, and other towns had risen simultaneously.

That which stands out as distinctly characteristic of the line of conduct which Prince Louis Napoleon at once adopted when he entered the Élysée was its inde-

pendence. He selected his advisers to guide and not to dominate him. In refusing to ally himself with any party he evinced a strong desire to be fortified with the counsel of all parties. He was in quest of a national policy that should be a worthy product of the national vote which had given him power, and all the troubles that beset him sprang from his determination not to be the dupe of any man or set of men. The strong measures which he presented to the Assembly were violently opposed, because no party desired to see the power of the President strengthened in independence of it. The Republicans raved at the idea of an Empire, and so did the Orleanists and the Legitimists, for they could have no share of its glory. Therefore the first indications of a strong will in the Élysée not only raised an Opposition turmoil all round the Constituent Assembly, but agitated the Cabinet, which was composed of individuals of the various parties. The Conservatives, who felt bound to vote measures that would strengthen the Executive against the Mountain, secretly hoped that they would lash the people into open revolt against the President. Every man of mark who had supported the Bonaparte to the Presidential chair plotted his overthrow when they found it was a statesman of consummate ability whom they had helped to raise. M. Émile de Girardin had worked lustily for Prince Louis until the Prince declined to walk in the great publicist's leading-strings. Then M. de Girardin turned furiously upon his own candidate, led a fierce Opposition, and eventually drew M. Victor Hugo into it. Under such circumstances the rumours which extorted from the President the following letter must have been peculiarly galling :—

Élysée National, April 10, 1849.

'My dear Cousin,—It is reported that, on your way

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through Bordeaux,[1] you spoke in a way calculated to raise discussions among the best-intentioned people. You are made to say that, dominated by the leaders of the reactionary movement, I was not following my own inspirations; that, impatient in bondage, I was ready to escape from it; and that, in order to help me, men hostile to my Government, rather than men of the Moderate party, should be returned at the next elections.

'I am justified in feeling astonishment at such an insinuation proceeding from you. You know me well enough to be assured that I should never suffer the dictation of any person, and that I shall always strive to govern in the interests of the masses, and not in those of a party. I honour the men who, by their capacity and experience, can give me good advice; I receive daily the most contradictory counsel, but I follow only the impulses of my reason and my heart.

'It was for you less than for anybody to blame me for a moderate policy—you, who found fault with my manifesto because it did not entirely satisfy the leaders of the Moderate party. That manifesto, which I did not alter, remains the conscientious expression of my opinions. My first duty was to restore confidence to the country. Well, for the last four months the confidence has been growing. For each day its task; security first, then improvements.

'The approaching elections will, I doubt not, hasten the epochs of possible reforms, by strengthening the Republic through order and moderation. To bring back the old parties, and to reunite them, should be the object of our efforts. It is the mission which belongs to the great name we bear: it would fail if it served to divide instead of rallying the supporters of the Government.

[1] Prince Napoleon had been appointed Ambassador at Madrid, and was on his way to his post.

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'For all these reasons I cannot approve your candidature in twenty departments; for—think well over this—the design is to return hostile candidates behind your name, and to discourage your partisans by tiring the people with many fresh elections.

'I hope that henceforth, my dear Cousin, you will use all your endeavours to enlighten people with whom you come in contact on my real intentions, and that you will be careful not to give credit, through careless words, to the absurd calumnies which go the length of pretending that sordid interests govern my policy. Nothing—proclaim this loudly—nothing will trouble the serenity of my judgment, nor will shake my resolutions. Free from all moral constraint, I shall walk in the path of honour, with conscience for my guide; and when I shall resign my power, if I may be reproached with inevitable faults, I shall at least have done what I sincerely believed to be my duty.'

CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPEDITION TO ROME.

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M. DE LAMARTINE'S manifesto, in which he promised that the Republic of France would never fail to help with arms any oppressed nationalities that might strike for freedom, was perhaps the most injudicious and unfortunate document ever put forward by a well-meaning statesman. Nationalities struck for freedom one after the other, but not a single French sword did France unsheath in support of them. She was not in a position to help them. Had M. de Lamartine's promise been kept, his distracted country would have had to face an armed European coalition. But although the Poles, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Italians looked in vain for brotherly battalions marching to the 'Marseillaise' against their oppressors, they had the poor consolation of hearing that in the French Constituent Assembly the Mountain had not forgotten them. When, on the meeting of these noisy heterogeneous nine hundred representatives, it was proposed to put on the Parliamentary record that the Provisional Government had deserved well of their country, M. Barbès opposed the motion and demanded an account of the desertion of 'our German, Polish, Italian, and Belgian brothers.' Later[1] the people invaded the Parliamentary Chamber—rudely thrusting M. de Lamartine from the entrance—and demanded the

[1] May 15, 1848.

immediate departure of an army for Poland—the cost to be defrayed by a tax on the rich. The riot ended grotesquely. De Lamartine, in his grand way, observed that at that moment the finest tribune in the world was a saddle; and going out through the hurly-burly, mounted a dragoon's horse and—drums beating—paraded the streets with the Marquis de Mornay on his right and M. de Falloux on his left. 'Two representatives of the Bourbons,' says M. Pierre, 'were the escort of the Republic.' That May 15 was a mad day in Paris. Barbès and his congeners got into the Hôtel de Ville and threw 'paper governments' out of the window, and, before the police could seize them, declared war against Russia and Germany.

But these were not the only acts of intervention on the part of the Reds in the foreign policy of the Empire. The Roman expedition served their turn, again and again, for an onslaught upon the Cavaignac Government first, and upon that of the Prince President afterwards. The Austrian domination in Italy had been seriously threatened by the insurrections of Venice and Milan in March 1848—insurrections which M. de Lamartine had stimulated—but when Radetzky had beaten the Tuscans and the Sardinians, and had finally routed the Piedmontese at Novara in March 1849, the cause of Italian independence was lost. At length it was possible for France, who had been forced to remain a quiet spectator of M. Radetzky's victories, to intervene, and prevent the Austrian from taking his revenge in Rome. 'If,' said M. Barrot in the Constituent Assembly, 'we give Austria the time to enter the Eternal City, it will be, to begin with, a blow to French influence in Italy, and also the re-establishment of absolutism in Rome, as in the time of Gregory XVI. Let us, then, intervene, so as not to destroy the equilibrium of influences in Italy for the benefit of the

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Vienna Cabinet, and also to save Roman liberty.' On the invitation of the Ministry the Assembly voted a credit of 1,800,000 francs for an expedition to the coast of Central Italy. This expedition, which consisted of only three brigades, landed at Civita Vecchia,[1] and at once set out for Rome. General Oudinot, who commanded it, addressed a short proclamation to the Roman people, in which he told them that his army had come not to impose an unpopular Government upon them, but to protect them against misfortunes which threatened them, and to facilitate, if possible, the establishment of a régime as far removed from the abuses which the Pope had destroyed for ever as from the anarchy of recent times. To this proclamation the Roman Assembly replied that they were determined to save the Republic, and to meet force by force. Hereupon General Oudinot advanced upon Rome with his three brigades, and was repulsed on April 30.

Two days after the celebration of the anniversary of May 4 on the Place de la Concorde, and at a banquet at the Hôtel de Ville, at both of which the President assisted, the news arrived that the French expedition had suffered a repulse under the walls of Rome. The dying Constituent Assembly hereupon severely criticised the Government, and after a hot debate voted an order of the day by which the Executive was invited to take such measures as should prevent the Civita Vecchia expedition from being longer diverted from the object for which it was sent out. M. Victor Considérant went the length of proposing that the President and his Ministers should be impeached. The President's reply was as sharp as a rifle shot. He published a letter which he had addressed to General Oudinot immediately after the receipt of the news.

[1] April 26, 1849.

'My dear General,' wrote the Prince, 'the telegraphic news announcing the unforeseen resistance you have met with under the walls of Rome has deeply pained me. You know it was my hope that the citizens of Rome, opening their eyes to plain facts, would receive with cordiality an army that had been sent to them on a kindly and disinterested mission. It has not happened so: our soldiers have been received as enemies. Our military honour is at stake, and I shall not suffer it to be tarnished. Reinforcements shall not be wanting. Tell your soldiers that I appreciate their bravery, that I share their hardships, and that they may always reckon on my support and my gratitude.'[1] CHAP. VI.

The Assembly threw itself into a state of wild excitement, which M. Barrot's hesitating explanation could not quell. It was a time for sharp words as well as swift deeds. On the morrow of the Minister's half-hearted attitude before the representatives General Changarnier addressed a general order to the army, in which there was not, to use a French description of emphasis, a single dot wanting to a single *i*.

'Officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers,' said the General, 'you have seen, in the newspapers, the letter addressed by the President of the Republic to the commander of the troops who have fought bravely, but without success, under the walls of Rome. The Com-

[1] 'Mon cher Général,—La nouvelle télégraphique qui annonce la résistance imprévue que vous avez rencontrée sous les murs de Rome m'a vivement peiné. J'espérais, vous le savez, que les habitants de Rome, ouvrant les yeux à l'évidence, recevraient avec empressement une armée qui venait accomplir chez eux une mission bienveillante et désintéressée. Il en a été autrement; nos soldats ont été reçus en ennemis. Notre honneur militaire est engagé; je ne souffrirai pas qu'il reçoive aucune atteinte. Les renforts ne vous manqueront pas. Dites à vos soldats que j'apprécie leur bravoure, que je partage leurs peines, et qu'ils pourront toujours compter sur mon appui et sur ma reconnaissance.'

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mander-in-Chief desires that it shall be known throughout all ranks of the military hierarchy.

'This letter should strengthen the attachment of the army to the Chief of the State, and it is a happy contrast to the language of men who would send, as the only encouragement to French soldiers while under the fire of the enemy, a disavowal of their acts.'

M. Ledru-Rollin carried this order of the day at once to the tribune of the Assembly, and in a violent speech, in which he declaimed against the Prince, the General, and the Cabinet, demanded their collective impeachment. But the Assembly was not as bold as the leader of the Mountain. After several sharp debates on the Italian question the representatives passed to the order of the day without a vote, and M. Ledru-Rollin's proposition was defeated by 388 votes against 138. This result was telegraphed from the Ministry of the Interior, by M. Léon Faucher, to every corner of France, in a despatch in which he said that the vote of the Assembly consolidated the public peace, and that agitators were only waiting for a hostile vote to throw up barricades and renew the disasters of June. The Assembly passed a vote of censure on the Minister for this despatch, and he at once resigned, on the eve of the general elections.

Thenceforth the relations between the Assembly and the army were hostile in spirit. By a decree of May 11 the Assembly in its President acquired the right to demand a military force for the protection of the Chamber. M. Marrast forthwith requested General Foret, who commanded the camp before the Invalides, to send two battalions of the Line. The General sent one; and on receiving a remonstrance from the President, replied that he knew only his military superior, and that he should obey only his chief's orders. M. Marrast wrote to General Changarnier, who replied haughtily that

he did not protest against the requisition of the President, but did require that his desires should be addressed to him, and not to his subordinates. A prudent man would have dropped the matter here, but M. Marrast loved a scene, and therefore laid his grievance before the moribund Chamber. It was a notable contribution to the reasons for alarm which were at that moment in all men's minds, because it set people asking why their representatives felt it necessary to have plentiful bayonets to protect their deliberations. The hostility between the Government and the Assembly was notorious since the hostile vote on the Italian question, and it had given hopes to the followers of Ledru-Rollin and of Raspail. Insurrection was in the air. The leading demagogues of the east of Paris proposed to bring back the mob to the streets, and invited the representatives of the Mountain to head them, swathed in the imposing colours of their official scarfs. There were whispers that the President of the Republic and General Changarnier and the Ministers were to be arrested. Did M. Marrast want two battalions for this business?

Prince Louis remained, as usual, a quiet reader and observer. He knew that the army had not been friendly to him at the elections; he plainly saw that the forces of Ledru-Rollin and Raspail were his implacable enemies. He would directly test the feeling of the power on which he would be compelled to rely in the crisis that appeared to impend. Before May was out he mounted his horse and rode forth from the Élysée National to review 40,000 men under arms on the Champ de Mars. As he trotted past the lines the troops greeted him with 'Long live Napoleon!' and 'Long live the Republic!' The crowd became the echo of the regiments in front of them. The march past was an imposing show of force. Ladies crowded at the windows of the École

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Militaire encouraged by their smiles the enthusiasm of the troops. The Prince rode back to the Élysée in the afternoon and wrote to General Changarnier :—

'I beg you to express to the troops whom I have reviewed to-day my high satisfaction at their excellent appearance, and all my gratitude for the sympathy with which they received me.

'With such soldiers our young Republic would soon resemble its senior—that of Marengo and Hohenlinden—if the stranger should compel us to fight. And at home, if the anarchists should raise their standard again, they would soon be reduced to impotence by this army, always faithful to duty and honour.

'To praise troops is to praise him who commands them. Be good enough, then, General, to remit all undue punishment for breaches of discipline. I am happy in this new opportunity of expressing to you my particular sentiments of esteem and friendship.'

The reasons that prevailed in the Assembly in support of the expedition to Rome, and were expressed in M. Bixio's motion, which was carried, after the abdication of Charles Albert, were those which actuated the Prince President. The Republican Bixio declared that 'if, in order to guarantee the integrity of the Piedmontese frontier, and to protect the interests and honour of France, the Executive Power thinks it should back its negociations by a partial and temporary occupation of Italy, it will find undivided support from the National Assembly.' This motion was carried on March 30; and it was in deference to this motion that the Government demanded and obtained an extraordinary credit for the Roman expedition. The object of the expedition was to maintain French influence, to protect French interests, and to 'defend civilisation.' That it was an ill-advised one on all grounds must have been freely admitted many

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times by the authors of it. That the Prince President entered upon it with reluctance is proved by the testimony of his enemies. One day, talking with an old Minister of the Republic, the Prince asked: 'What, in your opinion, are the faults which my Government have committed down to the present time?' The ex-Minister replied: 'The greatest is the Roman expedition: you have entered upon it, and I defy you to get out of it.' The Prince continued, pointing to the door of his cabinet: 'That door has not opened once since I have been here except to advisers who have said to me "To Rome!" M. de Montalembert, M. Thiers, M. Berryer, have never ceased repeating this advice. The partisans of the expedition increased until there was a flood of them.' The Prince, as he spoke, raised his hands above his head, indicating that the flood had overwhelmed him.[1]

The expedition brought upon the Prince more trouble than any act of his presidency. His cousin Prince Napoleon saw in it another opportunity for assailing him. He said that if he had believed Louis Bonaparte more capable than any other, by his name, his writings, and his capacity, to settle the Republic upon solid foundations, he could no longer hold this opinion when he saw him given up to a deplorable policy, under the guidance of unskilful men.'

In his message to the Legislative Assembly, which met for the first time on May 28, the Prince President described the foreign policy of his Government, and explained the course which had been adopted towards Rome. Passing from the intervention of England and France in Piedmont, the Prince said that a revolution had taken place in Rome which had stirred the Catholic and Liberal world. 'For two years people had been accustomed to see on the

[1] Taxile Delord.

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Papal throne a Pontiff who took the initiative in useful reforms, and whose name had been sung in hymns of gratitude from one end of the peninsula to the other. He was the symbol of liberty and of men's hopes, when suddenly men heard with astonishment that this sovereign, lately the idol of his people, had been compelled to fly in disguise from his capital. The aggressive acts which compelled Pius IX. to fly from Rome appeared in the eyes of Europe to be the result of a conspiracy, rather than the spontaneous movement of a people, who could not in a moment have changed from a state of vivid enthusiasm to one of the saddest ingratitude.

'The Catholic Powers sent Ambassadors to Gaeta to confer on the important interests of the Papacy, and France was bound to be represented there. She listened to everything without pledging herself. But after the defeat of Novara affairs took a decided turn. Austria, responding to the appeal of the Holy Father in concert with Naples, notified to the French Government that it must take a side, since these Powers were decided to march on Rome to re-establish the pure and simple authority of the Pope.

'Summoned to explain ourselves, we had only three courses to adopt—to oppose every kind of intervention by arms, in which case we should have broken with the whole of Catholic Europe in favour of the Roman Republic, which we had not recognised; to leave the three coalesced Powers to re-establish the Papal authority after their own fashion; or to exercise a direct and independent action on our own account. The Government of the Republic adopted this latter course.

'It appeared to us easy to make the Romans understand that, pressed on all sides, they had safety in us only; that if our presence resulted in the return of Pius IX., this sovereign, faithful to himself, would bring back

reconciliation and liberty; that, once in Rome, we should guarantee the integrity of the territory, by removing from Austria any pretext for entering the Romagna. We might reasonably hope that our flag, raised without dispute in the centre of Italy, would have spread its protecting influence over the entire peninsula, in every trouble of which we sympathise. CHAP. VI.

'The Civita Vecchia expedition was resolved upon in concert with the National Assembly, which voted the necessary credit. It had every chance of success. All the information we received agreed in saying that in Rome, with the exception of a few men who had seized the reins of power, the majority of the population awaited our arrival with impatience. It was simple common-sense to believe that this was so, since between our intervention and that of the other Powers the choice could not be doubtful.

'A fortuitous concurrence of circumstances decided as we had not anticipated. Our expeditionary corps—numerically weak, since no resistance was anticipated—landed at Civita Vecchia; and the Government was informed that if it had been possible for it to arrive before Rome on the same day the gates would have been joyfully opened to it. But, while General Oudinot was notifying his arrival to the Roman Government of Rome, Garibaldi entered at the head of a band of refugees from every part of Italy, and even from the rest of Europe; and his presence, it will be understood, increased suddenly the ranks of the party of resistance.

'On April 30, 6,000 of our soldiers appeared under the walls of Rome. They were received with shot. A few, drawn into an ambuscade, were made prisoners. We should all mourn over the blood that was shed on that day. This unexpected resistance, without changing the ultimate object of our enterprise, paralysed

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our friendly intentions, and made our negociations fruitless.'

This was the language which the Prince President held throughout, in private as well as in public. M. Vieillard was the old and disinterested friend to whom he confided his thoughts unreservedly. He wrote to him this short note, which now appears for the first time :—

'Élysée National, June 4, 1849.

'My dear M. Vieillard,—I am grieved to learn that you are ill. I was quite unaware of it. I did not read it in your letter, for you never wrote of it. It is true I received your letter in the evening, in the midst of the Ministers. This unfortunate Roman business must be ended with cannon-shot. I deplore it; but what can be done?

'I weep also for Venice.

'Believe, my dear M. Vieillard, in my sincere friendship.

'LOUIS NAPOLEON B.'[1]

The sincerity of the Prince President's regret, and of his liberal aspirations for Italy, is shown again in a letter which he addressed to Colonel Edgar Ney on August 18, long after there was anything to fear from the violence of the Mountain.

Some of the Conservatives who supported the Roman expedition might be justly described as ready to do the

[1] 'Élysée National, le 4 juin 1849.

'Mon cher M. Vieillard,—Je suis désolé d'apprendre que vous êtes malade. Je l'ignorais complètement. Je ne l'ai pas lu dans votre lettre, où vous ne me l'avez pas dit. Il est vrai que j'ai reçu votre lettre le soir, au milieu des ministres. Il faut terminer cette malheureuse affaire romaine à coups de canon. Je le déplore, mais que voulez-vous?

'Je pleure aussi Venise.

'Croyez, mon cher M. Vieillard, à ma sincère amitié.

'LOUIS-NAPOLÉON B.'

M.S. in the possession of the Imperial family.

work of Radetzky; but the democratic President of the Republic believed in the Liberal Pope, and thought liberty safer in his hands than in those of the Ledru-Rollins and Raspails of the Eternal City. Besides, France was with the Conservative majority; France was Catholic; and the gusts of passion which produced June 13 were but the tail of the storm which De Lamartine's vainglorious manifesto had raised.

'My dear Ney,' the Prince wrote, 'the French Republic did not send an army to Rome to stifle Italian liberty there, but, on the contrary, to regulate it by preserving it against its own excesses, and to give it a solid foundation by restoring to the Pontifical throne the prince who was the first to place himself boldly at the head of every useful reform.

'I learn with pain that the kindly intentions of the Holy Father, like our own efforts, remain barren in the presence of hostile passions and influences. There is a desire to make proscription and tyranny the bases of the Pope's return. Tell General Rostolan from me that he must not permit any act that can falsify the character of our intervention to be committed under the shadow of the tricolour flag.

'I epitomise the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal power: a general amnesty, the establishment of the Administration, the Code Napoléon, and Liberal government.

'I have been personally hurt, on reading the proclamation of the three cardinals, to see that there is no mention of France, nor of the sufferings of our brave soldiers. Every insult to our flag or to our uniform goes straight to my heart; and I will beg you to let it be distinctly known that if France does not sell her services, she at least exacts an acknowledgment of her sacrifices and abnegation.

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'When our armies made the tour of Europe, they left everywhere, as marks of their passage, the destruction of the abuses of feudality and the germs of liberty; it shall not be said that in 1849 a French army could act otherwise and leave other results.

'Tell the General to thank the army, in my name, for its noble conduct. I have been sorry to learn that even physically it has not been treated as it should have been. Nothing should be neglected for the comfort of our troops.

'Receive, my dear Ney, the assurance of my sincere friendship.

'LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.'

The Prince lost no opportunity of calming the spirit of the country with assurances of peace and of his solicitude for the commercial prosperity of France. The banquet of the exhibitors at the National Industrial Exhibition, held on the last day of August in the Jardin d'Hiver, was to him the kind of opportunity he could turn to the most striking account. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'the real peace congress was not in the Sainte-Cécile[1] Hall. It is here, it is you who compose it—you, the *élite* of French industry. In the other place only aspirations, hopes, could be formed; but here all the great interests which peace alone developes are represented. When one admires, as I have admired, all these prodigies of industry spread before entire France, when one calculates how many arms have been concerned in the production of these objects, and how many existences depend on the sale of them, one is consoled at having been born in an epoch for which another kind of glory than that derived from arms is reserved. In these days it is

[1] A peace congress had been lately held there.

by the perfection of industry, by the conquests of commerce, that we must fight the world; and you have impressed me with the conviction that in this struggle we shall not fall. But do not forget also to spread among workmen the healthy doctrines of political economy. By giving them a just share in the products of labour, prove to them that the interests of the rich are not opposed to those of the poor.

'I thank you for the flattering manner in which you have appreciated my efforts for the public good, and I give you a toast—"To the prosperity of French industry! to its honourable representatives!"'

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRTEENTH OF JUNE.

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THE Constituent Assembly died in a storm of passion on June 26, having, as a parting thrust at the Government, abolished the duty on spirits, thereby creating an immense deficit in the revenue, embarrassing the Executive, and at the same time making a powerful appeal to the popularity of the wine-shops. Between the separation of the Constituent Assembly and the meeting of the newly-elected Legislative Body there was an interval of only a few hours; between the constituent elements of the two Parliaments, however, there was a radical difference. Nearly all the men of February had disappeared.[1] Even M. Marrast, whose name was attached to the Constitution, had not been re-elected. The elections had been managed by the Electoral Union, an association that extended its influence throughout the country from the famous old address, 17 Rue de Poitiers. This union of all the Conservative forces had been formed in February to secure the return of a majority of the party of order. The friends of the President had rallied to it, and, through the skill of such chiefs as Berryer, Thiers, and De Broglie, they were absorbed in it. The electoral committee was composed of seventy-five members, thirty-six of whom were appointed by the 17 Rue de Poitiers club, and the

[1] Neither Lamartine, Garnier-Pagès, Dupont de l'Eure, Sénard, Flocon, Bastide, Marie, nor Jules Favre found seats.

rest were taken from among the Moderates of all colours. The committee brought into one room MM. Berryer, de Broglie, Duvergier de Hauranne, Chambolle, de Persigny, Fould, Molé, General Piat, de Malleville, de Montalembert, Thiers, de Rémusat, de Noailles. These Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists drew together to do battle with the common enemy. The effect was disastrous to M. Ledru-Rollin's party; but it was also harmful to the cause of the President, as many of his followers had predicted it would be. Indeed, so strong had been the opposition of certain leading Bonapartists to a fusion with such tricksters as the old statesmen of the Monarchy of July that they held aloof in committees of their own. The *scrutin de liste*, and the mutilated suffrage which the Constituent Assembly had left, gave MM. Thiers and Berryer excellent opportunities of using the popularity of the Prince President to the advantage of their party. They actually succeeded in obtaining a Royalist majority from a nation that was anti-Bourbon to the backbone, through their alliance with the Bonapartists, who were allowed to return only a mere sprinkling of their candidates. M. Thiers never contrived a subtler political trick. He showed M. de Broglie sitting near M. Lucien Murat, and himself in consultation with M. de Persigny; and then made up his electoral lists in favour of his own party. So complete was the President's faith in the honour of his allies that he withdrew some of his friends in favour of M. Thiers's nominees. The Bonapartists, who saw the scheme and held aloof, were so enraged that they threatened to put up Prince Napoleon in twenty departments. So confident did the conspirators of the Rue de Poitiers become that both M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel presented themselves as candidates, the former addressing to the electors of the Calvados some crafty phrases, in which he intimated his adhesion to a Bonapartist régime

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as one of order.[1] But the electors who had within six months given power to Prince Louis Napoleon were not to be hoodwinked into the acceptance of a Guizot or a Duchâtel.

The effect of the combination of the Bonapartists with the Royalists was, not what the Prince President had anticipated, a consolidation of order, but, on the contrary, a policy on the part of his false friends that made methodical and progressive government impossible. The Royalist parties, having obtained a majority through the popularity of the Prince, hastened to use it for his overthrow. He had imagined that in the Rue de Poitiers he was laying the foundations of a national party, since the Royalist leaders pretended that a Bourbon restoration had become impossible, and that he stood alone as the champion of order. But he was giving power to his cowardly enemies to drive him to that act of violence in December 1851 which he committed only after every effort had been made to govern a Republic with a Royalist and Socialist Parliament. When the Legislative Assembly met at the end of May 1849, the Government of France consisted of a Bonaparte, elected by five millions and a half of voters, a Royalist majority, and an imposing Socialist minority. This Assembly was elected on May 13; on June 13 the mob was in the streets and barricades were building. For when M. Ledru-Rollin found himself backed in the Assembly by 182 followers, and when he recollected that he had himself been elected in five departments, his ambition knew no bounds. He would listen to no moderate counsel. 'In a month,' he ex-

[1] 'Le Consulat, l'Empire, la Restauration et 1830 ont été des gouvernements sérieux; les partisans de ces trois gouvernements, les hommes formés dans leurs cours et sous leur influence, sont des hommes d'ordre. Quand l'ordre est en péril leur alliance est nécessaire.'—*Taxile Delord*, vol. i. p. 150.

claimed, 'I shall be Dictator—or shot.'[1] And he set to work with a will. CHAP. VII.

He appeared in his place in the Assembly on June 11 to make a formal declaration of war against the Executive. The Reds had been kept in a state of irritation by the artful uses their leaders had made of the expedition to Rome. On June 10 the Socialist electoral committee issued a proclamation to the Assembly, telling the newly-elected representatives that if the Constitution was violated it was for them to give the example of resistance. The members of the Mountain made a direct appeal to the people, telling them that Louis Bonaparte had audaciously violated the Constitution in attacking Rome, and assuring them that the Mountain would do its duty. The Democratic Association of the Friends of the Constitution protested 'before the nations' against France being regarded as an accomplice in the siege of Rome. There was insurrection in the air. The Parisians were in a gloomy mood; for cholera was sweeping with a heavy hand through their capital, and the highways to the cemeteries were crowded. They had just passed through the turmoil of a general election, only to be threatened with a renewal of civil war. The Prince President, while the Red clubs and committees were plotting his overthrow and the servants of Frohsdorf and Claremont were meditating in the Rue de Poitiers on the methods by which he could be made to forward their schemes, went quietly to the Hôtel Dieu and other great hospitals to visit and console those who were stricken by the modern plague. His sympathetic nature touched the sick deeply, according to contemporary accounts, and he left behind him in fever and cholera wards a real impression. With a few

[1] *Histoire complète du Prince Louis-Napoléon, depuis sa naissance jusqu'au 2 décembre* 1851. Par M. Gallix et Guy. Paris: H. Morel, 1853.

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well-chosen words about the humble and obscure heroism of the nurse, he placed the cross of the Legion of Honour upon the breast of a *garde-malade*.

The patience with which the hostility of the Mountain and the treachery of the Royalist factions were met at the Élysée is exemplified in the steady endeavours after a national party and a national policy, from which the Prince would not be shaken. He met the Legislative Assembly, in which he could discern the elements of a fiercer opposition than that with which the Constituent Assembly had harassed him, with sober, conciliatory words, and with plans for domestic reforms on which his mind had been long set.

The modification of the Ministry which he found it necessary to make to meet the new Corps Législatif, and to fill up the vacancy left by the retirement of M. Léon Faucher, was still in harmony with the principle of action set forth in his electoral address to his fellow-citizens. M. Odilon Barrot remained Minister of Justice and Vice-President of the Council, Dufaure went to the Interior, De Tocqueville became Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Rulhières, De Falloux, Passy, and De Tracy remained in office. It was eminently a Ministry of conciliation, except in relation to the men of violence in principle and deed who still disturbed the under-currents of society, making necessary and justifying stringent measures for the preservation of public order. This Ministry appeared before the Deputies under cover of a message from the President to the Assembly. In this, we insist, the strong desire of the Prince to act in harmony with the national Legislative Body is once more expressed, and a national policy, to be pursued by President and Deputies alike, is sketched.

'The Constitution,' said the Prince, 'directs the President of the Republic to submit to you every year a gene-

ral exposition of the affairs of the country. I conform to this duty, which permits me, in laying the truth before you in all its simplicity, facts in their most instructive light, to speak to you on my past conduct and my intentions in the future. My election to the Chief Magistracy of the Republic created hopes, all of which have not yet been realised. Down to the day when you met in this chamber the Executive power did not enjoy completely its constitutional prerogatives. In such a position it was difficult for it to make steady steps. CHAP. VII.

'Nevertheless, I have remained faithful to my manifesto.

'What were my engagements when I accepted the suffrages of the nation?

'To defend society, that had been audaciously attacked.

'To consolidate a wise, great, and honest Republic.

'To protect the family, religion, property.

'To foster every possible improvement and economy.

'To protect the press against arbitrary laws and against license.

'To lessen the evils of centralisation.

'To wipe away the traces of our civil discords.

'Lastly, to adopt a foreign policy that shall be as free from arrogance as from weakness.

'Time and circumstances have not permitted me to accomplish all these engagements; however, important steps have been taken in that direction.'

Having sketched with a firm, free hand the condition of French affairs at home and abroad, the Prince President made an appeal to the Assembly to work cordially with him, and to party leaders to join in the labour of a national regeneration.

'This, gentlemen,' he concluded, 'is a summary of the actual affairs of the Republic. You perceive that our anxieties are grave, that our difficulties are great, and

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that both within and without we have many important questions to solve. Strong in your support, and in that of the nation, I hope to raise myself to the height of my task by following a clear and precise line of conduct.

'This consists in boldly taking the initiative in all improvements, in all the reforms that contribute to the well-being of all; and, on the other hand, in repressing by the severity of the laws which have become necessary the attempts at disorder and anarchy which prolong the general uneasiness. We will not lull the people with illusions and Utopias which excite the imagination, and add only to misery and deception. Wherever I may see an idea pregnant with practical results, I shall have it examined, and if it can be used, I shall propose to you to apply it. The foregoing will, I hope, suffice, gentlemen, to prove to you that my intentions are identical with yours.

'You desire, like me, to labour for the happiness of this people, which has elected us for the glory and prosperity of the country; you agree with me that the best means of succeeding are not by violence and craft, but by firmness and justice. France has confided herself to the patriotism of the members of the Assembly. She hopes that truth, unveiled in the sharp light of the tribune, will confound falsehood and disarm error. The Executive power, on its side, will do its duty.

'I call under the flag of the Republic, and on the ground of the Constitution, all men who are devoted to the welfare of the country; I reckon upon their co-operation and their knowledge to enlighten me, upon my conscience to guide me, upon the protection of God to accomplish my mission.'

In the course of this message the Prince described the laws which he considered urgent. On the one hand, authority must be strengthened to give peace to society and to punish the peace-breakers; on the other, a series

of social reforms were absolutely necessary. The Prince indicated a law to promote workmen's provident associations, to provide poor landowners with capital on reasonable terms, to afford gratuitous legal assistance to the poor, to reform recruiting for the army, and to raise the pensions of old soldiers; and he recommended the Assembly to complete the organic laws of the Constitution which the Constituent Assembly had left unsettled.

These words of advice passed as so much idle wind over the heads of Reds and Royalists. Both wanted to get rid of the author of the message, not to work with him for the common good. M. Ledru-Rollin was, at any rate, a manful and an open enemy. He stalked deliberately to the tribune, while a settled gloom was upon the representatives, while the sounds of war were coming to cholera-smitten Paris from Russia and from Germany, and gave the signal of civil strife. The Government, he said, had violated the Constitution by attacking republican Rome; and he and his followers would defend it even by force of arms. Although the Assembly decided against M. Ledru-Rollin, and justified the course adopted by the Government, the Red leader was not to be controlled. He and his followers respected the representatives of the people only when they voted to their liking. In defiance of the ruling of the Assembly, the Reds did not scruple on this occasion to make a direct appeal to arms. The journals of the Mountain published two manifestoes, bearing the signatures of a hundred representatives of the Left, in the first of which they told the workfolk that the Government and the majority of the Assembly had forfeited their mandate by supporting the expedition to Rome, and called the National Guard, the army, and the people to arms. The second manifesto was short and sharp:—

'The President of the Republic and the Ministers are

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without the pale of the Constitution. The members of the Assembly who have made themselves their accomplices by their votes have placed themselves without the pale of the Constitution. The National Guards are rising; the workshops are closing. Let our brothers of the army remember that they are citizens, and that, as such, the first of their duties is to defend the Constitution.

'Let the entire people rise.'

M. Ledru-Rollin was fairly on his way to a dictatorship or death.

June 13 was to have handed Paris over to the Reds under MM. Ledru-Rollin and Étienne Arago; and possibly MM. Boichot and Raltier, two sergeants whom the Socialists had carried to the Legislative Assembly. But General Changarnier had taken his precautions betimes. When M. Étienne Arago appeared on the boulevards at the head of a nondescript insurrectionary column, he was allowed to proceed, amid the disdainful silence of the population, on his way to the Assembly and the Élysée until half his following had passed the Rue de la Paix, when a few battalions and squadrons debouched, and swiftly cut M. Arago's forces in two. Pursued on all sides, the soldiers of the Mountain flew, shouting, as they threaded the back-streets, 'To arms!'

While M. Arago was suffering this defeat, his chief—the coming Dictator—in company with M. Considérant and the two revolutionary sergeants already mentioned, was proudly reviewing some two hundred artillerymen of the National Guard and some fifty undisciplined *émeutiers* in the court of the Palais Royal. It was two o'clock before M. Ledru-Rollin set out at the head of this force for the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, when he gave the command that barricades should be erected. But the troops and the National Guards, who had no inclina-

tion to see France in the hands of the Socialists, gave M. Ledru-Rollin's soldiers no time. They were surrounded and scattered at the point of the bayonet, M. Ledru-Rollin himself making a ridiculous escape through a broken window. This was his exit from political life in Paris and the beginning of his commercial career in London. The insurrection which was so easily put down in Paris caused considerable bloodshed at Lyons, and riots in the provinces where the Paris insurgents had delegates. M. Ledru-Rollin had been Dictator for exactly one hour in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.

The Prince President, true to his custom whenever the Reds threatened to take up the pavements, rode out from the Elysée, the length of the great boulevards, and through the working-men's quarters, and was lustily cheered by the thousands who thanked him for keeping the peace of the capital undisturbed. When he returned to the Élysée he went straight to his cabinet, where, while he divested himself of his general's uniform, he dictated a proclamation to his secretary, M. Mocquard, in the presence of M. Ferdinand Barrot. It ran thus :—

'*The President of the Republic to the French People.*

'A few factious citizens have dared to raise the standard of revolt once more against a legitimate Government —since it is the product of universal suffrage.

'They accuse me of having violated the Constitution —I, who have endured for six months, without emotion, their vituperation, their calumnies, their provocations. Even the majority of the Assembly is the object of their abuse. The accusation which is directed against me is only a pretext, and the proof of this is that those who attack me now assailed me with the same hatred and the same injustice when the citizens of Paris were electing me

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their representative, and the people of France President of the Republic.

'This system of agitation maintains in the country mistrust and suspicion, which create misery. It must cease.

'It is time that good men should be reassured, and that bad men should tremble. The Republic has no more implacable enemies than those men who, by perpetuating disorder, force us to turn France into a camp, and our plans of amelioration and progress into preparations for a struggle and for defence.

'Elected by the nation, the cause that I defend is yours. It is that of your families, of your property, that of the poor as well as that of the rich—that of all civilisation. I shall leave nothing undone in order to make it succeed.'

When the streets had resumed their wonted aspect, and the Mountain had been covered with ridicule, General Changarnier, in the presence of M. Odilon Barrot, said to the Prince: 'Here is the opportune moment. Put an end to the Republic and establish a dictatorship.' The same advice had been tendered to the President of the Republic on January 29. On both occasions he rejected it. He believed in the sincerity of the Royalist leaders, who supported his policy in the Assembly, who had conducted the recent general election, and who were still assuring him of their steadfast friendship as the only possible barrier to the advance of the Red spectre.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRESIDENT IN THE PROVINCES.

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THE Prince President devoted the autumn Parliamentary recess of 1849 to a provincial progress, in the course of which he took advantage of banquets and inaugural ceremonies to make known his views on public affairs to his countrymen. Everywhere he exhorted men to practise a spirit of conciliation, and to set aside party for country. At Chartres, where he assisted at the opening of the railway from Paris, he said that it was there St. Bernard preached the second crusade, which put religious faith above material interests; and still faith was giving men strength to overcome difficulties—with conciliation it would double their material strength. At Amiens, where the Prince gave new colours to the National Guard of the Department of the Somme, he foreshadowed that Anglo-French alliance which never ceased to be the pivot of his foreign policy. 'I have done so little as yet,' he said, 'for my country, that I am at once proud of and perplexed by this ovation, which I attribute to my name rather than to myself. France remembered this when she gave me her suffrages, that this name represented not only conquest and war, but also order and peace. Amiens especially must have been convinced of it—Amiens, that in the midst of an European conflagration had witnessed within its walls—indeed, in the hall where we are—the signature of that famous treaty in 1802 which was to conciliate the interests of the two most civilised nations of

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the world. The only idea of peace under the Empire will pass down to posterity with the name of the city of Amiens. It is to this remembrance that I attribute a truly triumphant reception. You desire peace—but a glorious peace—fertile in benefits at home and in influence abroad.'

From Amiens the Prince went, accompanied by his oldest and staunchest friends, including his fellow-prisoner Dr. Conneau, to Ham.[1] The little town threw up a triumphal arch to welcome its old prisoner, who now came as Chief of the State to visit the fortress in which he had spent six years of his life. The Prince was not surrounded with the pomp of power, but with a group of the friends of his misfortunes—with M. Vieillard, Vaudrey, Conneau, De Persigny, and Laity. The town was gay with flags, and a salute was fired from the prison-walls, whence he had escaped in a workman's blouse only three years ago. He had left many unseen friends in the town, and all the townsfolk were out to give him a hearty welcome. They covered the prison-gates with flowers, and offered him a banquet. He found the Kabyle chief Bou-Maza occupying his old rooms, and he set him at liberty. And then, at the banquet offered to him by the mayor, he delivered a courageous speech, which made a deep impression throughout France.

'I am profoundly moved,' he said, 'by the affectionate reception I have received from your fellow-citizens. But, believe me, if I have come to Ham, it is not in a spirit of pride, but of gratitude. I felt in my heart that I should thank the inhabitants of this town and neighbourhood for all the marks of sympathy which they showed me in my misfortunes.

'To-day, when elected by all France legitimate chief

[1] July, 21, 1849.

of this great nation, I cannot take to myself glory for a captivity the cause of which was an attack on a regular Government. When I have seen how many misfortunes the justest revolutions bring in their wake, I can hardly comprehend the audacity of an endeavour to take upon myself the terrible responsibility of a change. I do not pity myself, therefore, for having expiated, by an imprisonment of six years, my temerity against the laws of my country; and it is with pleasure that, in the place where I suffered, I propose to you a toast in honour of the men who have resolved, in spite of their convictions, to respect the institutions of their country.'[1]

From Ham the Prince travelled to Angers to open a railway between that town and Tours, and here he interpreted the cheers of the crowd and defined his position.

'It is not,' he said, 'because I am the nephew of the man who put an end to all our civil dissensions that you receive me so kindly, for I cannot do for you all the Emperor did; I have neither his genius nor his power; but your acclamations are intelligible because I represent that system of moderation and conciliation inaugurated by the Republic—that system which consists in planting in

[1] 'Monsieur le Maire,—Je suis profondément ému de la réception affectueuse que je reçois de vos concitoyens. Mais, croyez-le, si je suis venu à Ham, ce n'est pas par orgueil, c'est par reconnaissance. J'avais à cœur de remercier les habitants de cette ville et des environs de toutes les marques de sympathie qu'ils n'ont cessé de me donner pendant mes malheurs.

'Aujourd'hui qu'élu par la France entière, je suis devenu le chef légitime de cette grande nation, je ne saurais me glorifier d'une captivité qui avait pour cause l'attaque contre un gouvernement régulier. Quand on a vu combien les révolutions les plus justes entrainent de maux après elles, on comprend à peine l'audace d'avoir voulu assumer sur soi la terrible responsabilité d'un changement. Je ne me plains donc pas d'avoir expié ici, par un emprisonnement de six années, ma témérité contre les lois de ma patrie; c'est avec bonheur que, dans les lieux mêmes où j'ai souffert, je vous propose un toast en l'honneur des hommes qui sont déterminés, malgré leurs convictions, à respecter les institutions de leur pays.'

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France not the savage liberty that permits every man to do as he pleases, but the liberty of civilised people that allows each individual to do that which is not harmful to the community. I know that under every régime there will be oppressors and oppressed; but while I remain President of the Republic there will be no oppressed party.'

On the following day the Prince, speaking at Nantes, reminded his hearers that it was behind the Loire, on which he had been travelling, that the last shattered columns of the Grand Army made their stand. Speaking of the statue of Cambronne, within sight of which he stood, he observed that the enthusiasm with which the glories of the Empire were cherished by the people proved to him that if fate should bring another struggle, France would be the foremost military nation. 'But to-day,' he continued, 'we have as great a glory, that of opposing every civil and foreign war, and of growing great with the progressive development of our industry and our commerce. Behold the forest of masts that is motionless in your port; it needs but a breath to carry to the end of the world the products of our civilisation.

'Let us be united, let us forget all causes of dissension, let us remain devoted to order and to the great interests of our country, and we shall soon again be the Great Nation through the arts, industry, and commerce. The city of Nantes, that has received me so well to-day, is strongly interested in this question; for it is destined, by its position, to reach the highest degree of commercial prosperity.

'I drink, then, to the future of the city of Nantes, and to its prosperity.'

On the following day (July 31) the Prince was toasting the army at Saumur.

On July 29 the President was at Tours. This journey was to have served as a signal for Red and Socialist disorders,

but it passed off quietly and brilliantly. On his way to Tours the President made an imposing passage through Orleans, where he was received with a medley of cries in favour of the Republic, the Constitution, the President, and the Emperor. CHAP. VIII.

'The Emperor!' the President is reported to have said. 'That is not I; it is my uncle.' Another report was to the effect that when a soldier of the old Imperial Guard approached him, and shouted 'Long live the Emperor!' he quietly answered him: 'Not yet.'

At Tours the President's reception was enthusiastic. At the prefectoral banquet he said:—

'I should begin by thanking the city of Tours for the reception it has given me; I should add also that the acclamations of which I have been the object touch my heart rather than my pride.

'I have been too intimate with misfortune not to be safe against the enticements of prosperity. I have not come into your midst with any *arrière-pensée*, but to show myself as I am, and not as calumny seeks to make me.

'It has been asserted, and is still asserted in Paris, that the Government meditates some surprise like that of the 18th Brumaire. But are we under similar circumstances? Have foreign armies invaded our territory? Is France torn by civil war? Have we 80,000 banished families? Are there 300,000 families placed without the pale of the law by the *Loi des Suspects*? In fine, is the law without strength, and authority without force? We are not in a position that requires such heroic remedies.

'In my eyes, France may be compared to a ship which, after having been tossed by tempests, has found a more or less safe roadstead, and has, at any rate, cast anchor.

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'Well, under the circumstances we must put the ship to rights before going to sea again.

'The laws which we have may be defective, but they are capable of amendment.

'Trust, then, in the future, without thinking of *coups d'état* or insurrections. There is no excuse for *coups d'état*; and as for insurrections, they would be hardly begun before they would be quelled.

'Put faith, then, in the National Assembly and in your First Magistrate, who are the elect of the nation; and, above all, rely on the protection of the Supreme Being, who still guards France.'

On August 11 the Prince, in reply to the toast of his health proposed by the mayor at a banquet offered to him by the city of Rouen, said, still adhering to his preconceived plan of dwelling on the evils of the time, and letting Frenchmen know how he would deal with them: 'The more I become acquainted with the chief towns of France, the stronger does my conviction become that all the elements of public prosperity lie within the frontiers of this country. What, then, prevents our prosperity at the present time from developing itself and bearing fruit? Allow me to say it is our tendency to allow ourselves to be seduced by chimeras instead of holding to reality. Gentlemen, I said in my message, the more the evils which afflict society become patent, the more do certain persons appear to be inclined to cast themselves into the mysticism of theories. But, in reality, what is wanted? People are not asked to adore what they have burned, and to burn what they have adored for centuries. That which is needed is to give society more value and stability; and, as a man whom France esteems, and whom all of you here regard—M. Thiers—has said, "the real genius of our epoch is that of common sense."

'It is in this fine city of Rouen that common sense

reigns, and it is to it I owe this unanimity of the suffrages of December 10; for you judged me truly, gentlemen, in believing that the nephew of the man who did so much towards establishing society on natural bases could not think of casting society back upon vague theories. I am happy, gentlemen, in being able to thank you for the 180,000 votes which you gave me. I am happy at finding myself in this splendid city of Rouen, which has within it the germs of so much wealth. I have admired yonder hills, adorned with the treasures of agriculture, and your river, which bears to distant parts the products of your industry. Nor have I been less struck with your statue to Corneille. It proves to me that you are not wholly devoted to the great interests of commerce, but that you can admire all that is elevating in letters, arts, and sciences.'

In his speeches delivered during the Parliamentary recess of two months the Prince contrived to make known his sentiments on a variety of subjects, and to put himself in cordial relations with many sections of the people. He never took a party, but always a national, view of a question. He bore in mind that the constituency which he represented was one of five millions and a half. In him was expressed the will of the nation; and it was his duty to see that national interests were not sacrificed in the Parliamentary combats of the Legislative Assembly. He put himself in close relation with the people at their festivals and inaugural ceremonies, that he might learn their pleasure and ascertain how far he had their confidence and support. He threw out ideas for the development of industry, for administrative reform, for the extension of railways and canals, for the establishment of provident societies, and watched how they were received. In short, while the Parliamentary factions were scheming and plotting in Paris, at Claremont, and under the sanc-

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tion of the Count of Chambord, and while the Socialists and the Reds were spreading a network of insurrectionary clubs over the land, the patient, self-contained President of the Republic was feeling the pulse of the nation. The Orleanists had some scores of notables and some upstart aristocrats of yesterday with them, including vast talking and scheming ability; the Legitimists had a much more respectable and a much more extensive following, that wintered in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, and spent the summer in the old châteaux of France; the Socialists and the Reds were cowed and driven to their hiding-places, but were busy still preparing for 1852, and were numerically stronger than Orleanists and Legitimists put together; and all these three elements of discord in the future were ready at any moment to combine to fall upon the Chief Magistrate elected by the nation and drive him from power. But the man who never spoke except when he had a distinct something to say, and who never acted without having deliberated long, was gathering up his forces far and wide among his mighty hosts of voters; and he would know when, in the interests of the greatest number, he should dismiss the hypocritical chiefs and coteries who were compassing his destruction in order to steal a power which the nation would not willingly give them. He showed again and again that he was not to be deterred from his purpose by threats, and his enemies were beginning to see that he was not to be cajoled or duped. At Besançon, when he was repairing to a popular ball, a commissioner of police sought an interview with him, and begged him not to go, for they had just discovered a plot to assassinate him there. The Prince answered: 'I rely on the sympathies of the citizens of Besançon, and I shall go.' On his arrival he was surrounded by a posse of suspicious-looking fellows in red cravats, who separated him from his suite and growled threats in his ears; and the commissary's

fears would have been realised had not the faithful Colonel Vaudrey, Colonel Béville, and the rest of the suite, with the help of some gendarmes, rescued him.

The President's advisers hereupon begged him not to venture farther into Alsace, the hot-bed of Socialist doctrines; but he not only persevered to the end of his journey—which was to be Strasburg—he boldly confronted his enemies. At the Strasburg banquet offered in his honour he told his hosts boldly that he had been dissuaded from trusting himself in the midst of them. 'My reply was,' he said, 'that I should go to all places where there are dangerous illusions to dissipate and good citizens to reassure. Ancient Alsace has been calumniated. In this land of glorious memories and of political sentiment I feel assured that I shall find hearts that will understand my mission and my devotion to the country. And, gentlemen, why should I have been badly received? In what respect have I forfeited your confidence? Placed by the unanimous vote of France at the head of a power circumscribed by law, but immense still by the moral influence of its origin, have I yielded to the temptation or to advice to attack a Constitution made, it is well known, against me? No; and if I have so acted, it is because I cherish the ambition of being known as an honourable man.' This frank and courageous attitude won the hearts of the good people of Alsace.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LAW OF MAY 31, 1850.

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THE Ministerial changes which the Prince had effected at the meeting of the new Legislative Assembly were another effort on his part to draw about him a composite Cabinet capable of a national policy. He had even consented to give a portfolio to M. Dufaure, who had worked so unscrupulously against him in the Cavaignac interest at the Presidential election, and whom he had good reason to suspect of covert unfriendliness when he took office, bringing with him into the Cabinet MM. de Tocqueville and Lanjuinais. But the Barrot-Dufaure Government, which was one of compromises, with a policy designed to please all parties by giving a scrap of concession to the Right and then one to the Left, was composed of elements that would not mingle. It lacked directness and boldness of aim; for each Minister represented a coterie. It was a congress rather than a cabinet, at which each member fought for the interest he represented. Such men as M. Dufaure and M. de Falloux could not be brought to agree on a series of domestic measures.

The weakness of the Ministry was the opportunity of the Royalists, who were never more active than in the autumn recess of 1849. Having used the President of the Republic to return a strongly Monarchical Chamber, the next step was to force upon him a Ministry taken entirely from the Orleanist and Legitimist factions. The Presidential provincial progress, and the Prince's hearty

reception by the army on the Champ de Mars and elsewhere, must have given to MM. Thiers and Berryer doubts about the further pliability of the Prince; at the same time his popularity, the rapidity with which his Government was establishing itself in public favour as a national authority removed above those ceaseless struggles and squabbles of the Parliamentary factions which merely vexed men's minds and prevented the settled calm necessary to the material prosperity of the country, warned them that the time had come to assume a bolder attitude. Dr. Véron, in his 'Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris,' and who was in daily relations both with the Prince and M. Thiers at this time, describes the confident attitude of M. Thiers and M. Molé in the summer and autumn of 1849. They believed they held the Prince securely in their toils, and that it was for them to say how he should be disposed of to their advantage.

'From December 10, 1848,' writes Dr. Véron, 'to November 10, 1849, before and long after the election of Prince Louis Napoleon as President of the Republic, M. Thiers and the "Constitutionnel" worked harmoniously together. M. Thiers, as well as M. Molé, had more than one political conference with the President of the Republic. If I am rightly informed, Prince Louis Napoleon listened through these private conferences to the opinions of others, and but seldom expressed his own. However, the friendly relations continued. The ex-Minister of March 1 had, in fact, influence enough to obtain appointments for his friends in the public service, and to place a few important prefects. M. Thiers and his family were at all the Élysée fêtes.

'During 1849 I happened to be informed of all M. Thiers's projects, plans, and hopes. The portfolio of Minister of Commerce and Agriculture was, in the course

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of the year, offered to M. Achille Fould, and he did me the honour to consult me on the subject. "Ought I to accept it?" he said. "M. Thiers says: 'Don't accept,' and here are the reasons which he gives me. "You will be better," he says, "in the Ministry of Finance. In a short time M. Molé and I, I have no doubt, will be called upon by the Prince to form a great Cabinet: the Ministry of Finance will be reserved for you. Try, then, to wait a little." This presumptuous confidence of the ex-Minister of the Monarchy of July made me smile. "Be certain," I replied to M. Fould, "that M. Thiers will never possess the confidence of Prince Louis Napoleon. As far as I have been able to sound the private thoughts of the Prince, I believe that he is quite decided not to be taken in tow, even by the most skilful orators, and led in the old grooves of Parliamentary government. The Prince, who has meditated long in exile and in prison, knows that new times demand new ideas. He knows that innovations are required in finance, that a great commercial and industrial stimulus must be given to this country, that the railways must be completed, that attention must be given in the first place to the interests of the army and the working classes, that our cities must be drained and embellished; he knows that France is governed rather through the imagination than by daily doses of sounding oratory. M. Thiers has had his day and has done his work. He has made two revolutions: Prince Louis Napoleon will not allow him to make a third."'

This was made as clear as daylight to M. Thiers on October 31, when the following message from the President was read to the Assembly. M. Thiers boasted that for a year after December 18, 1848, he had governed France; but the mastery which he sought, by unscrupulous duplicity, to obtain over Prince Louis Napoleon fell from his grasp at the last moment; and the financier whom he had

boastfully patronised, recommending him to wait for the great Thiers-Molé Administration, sate among the Ministers when this lesson was read to the Monarchical factions:— CHAP IX.

'Mr. President,—Under the grave circumstances in which we find ourselves, the harmony which should exist between the various powers of the State can be maintained only on the condition that in a spirit of mutual confidence they shall be frankly explicit one with the other. In order to give the example of this sincerity, I now proceed to make known to the Assembly the reasons which have determined me to appoint a new Ministry, and to separate myself from men whose eminent services I am pleased to proclaim, and towards whom I avow friendship and gratitude.

'In order to establish the Republic, menaced from so many sides with anarchy; in order to secure order more firmly than it has been hitherto secured; in order to maintain the renown of France undiminished, men are wanted who, animated by a patriotic devotion, understand the necessity of the firm, unswerving pursuance of a clearly defined policy, who will not compromise the Government by irresolution, who will be as careful of my responsibility as of their own, and as zealous in action as in speech.

'For nearly a year I have given proofs enough of abnegation not to be misunderstood as to my real motives. Without rancour against any individual or any party, I have allowed men of the most opposite opinions to take office, but without obtaining the good results I anticipated from this agglomeration. Instead of obtaining a combination of shades of opinion, I have brought about only a neutralisation of forces. Unity of views and intentions, and a spirit of conciliation, have been taken for weakness. Street troubles had hardly passed away before the old parties were seen raising their flags

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again, reviving their ancient contentions, and alarming the country. In the midst of this confusion, France, uneasy because she sees no guiding policy, seeks the hand and will of the elect of December 10. This will can be felt only when there is a common idea, a common view, a common conviction animating the President and his Ministers, and when the Assembly identifies itself with the national thought of which the elected executive power is the expression.

'An entire system triumphed on December 10: for the name of Napoleon is in itself a programme. It means at home, order, authority, religion, the welfare of the people; abroad, national dignity. It is this policy, inaugurated by my election, of which I wish to see the triumph with the help of the Assembly and the support of the people. I desire to be worthy of the confidence of the nation by maintaining the Constitution to which I have sworn fidelity. I wish, by my loyalty, my perseverance, and my firmness, to inspire the country with such confidence as will revive trade and give faith in the future. The letter of a constitution has doubtless a great influence on the destinies of the country; but the manner in which it is acted upon has a greater. The duration of a government contributes powerfully to the stability of things; but it is also by the ideas and principles which the government adopts that society becomes settled.

'Let us, then, re-establish authority without disturbing real liberty. Let us calm men's fears by resolutely putting down evil-doers, and by communicating to all the noble instincts of a useful purpose. Let us consolidate the religious principle, without giving up any of the conquests of the Revolution. And we shall save the country in spite of the factions and the ambitions, and even the imperfections, which our institutions may include.'

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It was while M. Thiers and his followers still believed that they were on the point of ousting the Barrot-Dufaure Ministry for one taken exclusively from the Monarchical Right, that early in October the wily Orleanist ex-Minister brought on a debate on the affairs of Rome. He was reporter of the commission appointed to examine into the Government demand for a credit on account of the expedition; and in his report he refrained from mentioning the Prince's letter to Edgar Ney, intending hereby to slight the authority of the Government. But when[1] M. Barrot and his colleagues rather supported M. Thiers, by declining to assume complete responsibility for the President's letter, because the Cabinet were of opinion that the majority would not approve it, the Prince determined not only to part from his half-hearted advisers, but to separate himself boldly from the leaders of the majority; and he charged two men who were personally devoted to him (MM. de Persigny and Ferdinand Barrot) to form a Ministry. M. Odilon Barrot declined to be in the new Government, on the plea that he was under political engagements with M. Dufaure, and, with the excited majority who poured out of the Chamber after the reading of the President's message, declared that it was equivalent to a *coup d'état*. The new Cabinet, the list of which was in the 'Moniteur' on the evening of the day when the message scatter d M. Thiers's plans to the winds, was one of men independent of party ties, and in the main devoted to the policy of the Elysée; but it was not, as M. Delord endeavours to show, a weak one. A list that included the names of MM. Achille Fould, Rouher (whom the Prince President had already marked as having the qualities of a great Minister), and M. Dumas, the distinguished chemist, could, at any rate, advantage-

[1] October 20.

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ously compare with the lists of second-rate nominees of the Monarchical chiefs, through whom M. Thiers boasted he had governed France from December 10.

Mr. Crowe[1] says: 'The maxim of Louis Napoleon seems to have been, when he finally assumed power, to dispose of one enemy at a time. During 1849 he chose as his Ministers the lieutenants, if not the active chiefs, of the Monarchic faction. By these means he put down the party of the Republic, both Moderate and Socialist. The Moderate Republicans had indeed already broken the physical force of the Socialists and ultra-Republicans in the days of June. This most arduous and ungrateful task Louis Napoleon found accomplished to his hand. The next, which was his first, step was to rise upon the shoulders of the victorious Cavaignac party, and become installed President upon their ruin. In 1849 his task was to put down all the Republicans, which was the more easy as their faction remained completely disunited. In May 1849 that was fully achieved.

'There remained the necessity of dealing with the Monarchic parties. The fall of the Republicans had rendered the Monarchists not only more confident and presumptuous, but more powerful. They dominated in the Assembly. As the star of General Cavaignac grew pale in the regards of the army, that of General Changarnier rose and became brilliant. He, too, had triumphed over an *émeute* in February and in May. And though those triumphs were bloodless, still they effaced those of Cavaignac in the preceding June. The Ministers whom the President had appointed from the front ranks of the Monarchic faction treated him as a parliamentary ministry might a constitutional sovereign. Instead of consulting him, they imposed a policy upon

[1] *The History of France.* By Eyre Evans Crowe. Longmans & Co. 1858.

him, and this he found a vacillating and distracted one. Thus they had gone to Rome to make a compromise between the Pope and a supposed Constitutional party; the latter, however, disappeared amid the violence of events, while the Pontiff, who had taken refuge at an ultra-Conservative Court, was likely to come back imbued with its prejudices rather than with any gratitude to France.'

But the truth is that the Prince did not design the overthrow of the Republic directly he assumed power. He was thoroughly sincere in his efforts to form a national party that would put an end to the Republican and Monarchic factions, and establish a free Government based on the popular will. The designs upon the life of the Republic proceeded from the Monarchic parties, who used the President as their instrument, and foisted their second-rate men upon him as his Ministers, under the false plea that they were working with him to free the country from the paralysing toils of party. The Republic fell because the few existing Republicans, like the Monarchists, quarrelled among themselves, and because France was not Republican. The outside help towards their overthrow all came from the Monarchic parties, who were in the ascendant from December 10, 1848, to October 31, 1849. To say that Prince Louis Napoleon's first step was to rise upon the ruins of the victorious Cavaignac party is to assume that Cavaignac was on the high road to the Presidential chair when the Prince appeared, the fact being that Louis Napoleon was the national candidate before the Republican general showed in the field. When the general did appear, it was the Orleanists and Legitimists who opposed him fiercely, and for the good reason that he was a downright backbone Republican, under whom none of their dynastic plots could prosper.

As regards the necessity of dealing with the Monarchic

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parties, the Prince's line of conduct was plain and open while he believed that they were making common cause with him for the public good. It was only when they showed their real motives and pretensions, after June 13, that he began to fence with them. He perceived that it had become necessary for him to stand apart from all coteries, and to select advisers whom he could confidently entrust with a policy for which he, as the elect of the people, could make himself responsible before the country. He made it quite plain, so soon as he saw that he had been used to subserve the interests of Wiesbaden and Claremont, that he was to be hoodwinked no longer; and that, in his future relations with the Burgraves as sections of the Conservative majority in the Assembly, he should deal with them as rivals who had deceived him once, and would mislead him no more. Nor was this a very bold, albeit it was an eminently honest course; for Prince Louis Napoleon had the nation at his back, while MM. Thiers, Barrot, Berryer, Changarnier, and their friends had only two hordes of hungry place-seekers and a very thin sprinkling of devoted and unselfish adherents.

Mr. Crowe further observes, in reference to this period of the Prince's career—and the reader will perceive how he contradicts himself:—

'Besides his low estimate of the Monarchic chiefs, of Barrot and M. Thiers, as politicians, the President soon perceived how inimical they were to himself. They dreaded his popularity, and were resolved to repress it by the Parliamentary majority. They had already precluded his immediate re-election after his four years' term of office by an article of the Constitution. Had this been done and persevered in with a view to the election of a really Republican President, there would have been little to say against it. But the Monarchists had put down

the Republic, had set aside Cavaignac, as they had done Lamartine, and excluded Marrast and Garnier-Pagès from the Assembly. It could not be a Republican President they had in view, but a Monarchic one—a general, in fact, such as Changarnier, who would be prepared to play the Monk and accomplish a restoration of one branch of the Bourbons or the other. Louis Napoleon could not be expected to sanction or to suffer this, and expressed himself at once very clearly that, if such was the intention of the Monarchists, he would oppose them. They mocked at his threats, and made light of the means at his disposal for realising them. The President had interviews with their chiefs, and did his utmost to gain them—that is, he assured them that, if they behaved true and fair to him, he would in the same sense reciprocate. They were, however, not inclined to come into these terms. Nor could they. For whilst some, such as Barrot and Dufaure, were conscientiously prepared to support a Republic, others had precipitated themselves into hopes and plans for an Orleanist restoration. It is reported that in a conversation of the President with MM. Molé and Thiers they recommended him to follow a purely civilian policy, and in token of it to cut off his mustachios.'[1]

The Prince was slow to suspect. He had been accustomed to sincere and devoted followers. In his most unfortunate days he had not been stung by false friends. It had been his habit to live in the society, often of humble, but always of candid and sincere men. It had been his good fortune to inspire life-long friendships, and devotion that never tired of watching, even when it seemed to the world that no hopeful morrow was likely to dawn upon his broken fortunes. The few

[1] Cassagnac.

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notables whom Louis Philippe left behind him were not men prepared to make sacrifices. With hardly an exception they were ready to filch power back out of the hands of the nation for the benefit of the Orleans family, and to use the Assembly for a purpose which they knew the people would never sanction. In order to do this they must get rid of the elect of December 10; and to this end, as we have seen, M. Thiers and his friends were labouring —often assisted by M. Berryer and the Legitimists— when Prince Louis Napoleon believed that they were unreservedly assisting him in the formation of a strong national Government. But when the Prince knew that he had to deal with schemers of the most artful kind, and that the two leaders MM. Thiers and Molé had been lately manœuvring to form a Cabinet, that they might be able the more speedily and effectually to deal with the Chief of the Executive, he began to meet them with their own weapons and to use the Monarchic majority for the furtherance of his own policy. He knew his strength and their weakness, and could afford to laugh when M. Berryer said in the tribune of the Assembly that if the President attempted to employ force against the Legislative Body, he would not find four men and a corporal to obey him. When he watched the two Monarchic parties pandering to the vanity and courting the good graces of General Changarnier, as their Monk, he must have laughed outright at the character of Richard Cromwell given to himself in the drama.

Mr. Crowe sums up the position of the President, the Monarchic parties, and the Assembly in a way that discovers his Orleanist leanings:—

'Seeing that he could not trust either the Monarchic chiefs or their lieutenants, the President resolved on changing his Ministry. But whom should he name in their place? To which party should he have recourse?

He had crushed and exiled the Socialist Republicans, defeated and set aside the Moderate ones. Legitimists and Orleanists were his foes. He had a party in the country composed of the rude and unlettered peasants, who still revered the name and family of Napoleon. But these, although they had elected him President, and would gladly have sent Imperialists to the Chamber, yet knew of none, and had, on the contrary, sent thither men who were anything but Imperialists. His choice for Ministers was thus limited to men of no party, men in whom he descried talent, with a certain flexibility which would admit of their rallying to him personally as soon as they perceived that he really possessed a future and a following. The list of the Ministers named by the President on October 31, 1849, were—Home Department, Ferdinand Barrot; Foreign Affairs, Rayneval; Justice, Rouher; Finance, Fould; Public Instruction, Parieu; Public Works, Bineau; Commerce, Dumas; Marine, Romain-Desfosses; War, Hautpoul.

'The President accompanied the appointment of this Government by a message to the Assembly, in which he complained that his experiment of forming a Ministry from the different parties of the Parliament had not succeeded. There was no unity of views, no leading spirit. During the Hundred Days, when the First Napoleon was hampered by the Constitutionalists, he expostulated, and observed that the country remained uncertain and dispirited because "it did not feel the old arm of the Emperor." Louis Napoleon now repeated the phrase by saying that "France, amidst the general confusion and inertness of direction, sought for the hand and the will of the elect of December 10." The name of Napoleon, he added, meant order, authority, religion, and the well-being of the people. He said not a word of liberty. Up to this period such men as Thiers had hoped in the

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new President. But the Ministry and the manifesto now completely dispelled the illusion.' Mr. Crowe adds in a note: 'Veron says that a Thiers and Molé Ministry formed the prospect of the time, for the appointment of which the President had given hopes.'

Even a historian as serious and sober as Mr. Crowe is led away by the wild Monarchic talk about the rude and unlettered peasants as the sole supporters of Prince Louis Napoleon. The Prince was supported by all classes—certainly by all the upper classes of the provincial towns. We find him thanking the manufacturers of Rouen for their votes; and those which he obtained through the support of the Conservative ladies were not the votes of 'rude and unlettered peasants.' Again, the Prince had in his message a very emphatic phrase about liberty. 'Let us, then,' he said, 're-establish authority without disturbing real liberty.' The illusions that were dispelled from the minds of M. Thiers and his coterie by the Prince's new attitude were those which they had cherished of seizing upon France by a Parliamentary *coup d'état*; and the hopes of a Thiers-Molé Cabinet were nursed not by the President, but by the two artful statesmen who were to give their names to it. Mr. Crowe entirely falsifies Dr. Véron's account of the relations between M. Thiers and the Prince. The double-dealing was from beginning to end on M. Thiers's side.

The session of 1849–50 opened quietly. Louis Napoleon had already meditated the embellishment and drainage of Paris. The prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli and the demolition of the old stalls and tenements which had long disfigured the Place du Carrousel were voted; but the completion of the Louvre was postponed, although the Minister of Public Works pleaded hard for the measure as giving work to the unemployed. Then Citizen Pelletier, a Socialist dreamer, proposed that

the Government should establish 3,000 banks in the country with the national money. Every workman should be at liberty to draw from the bank in his neighbourhood, without security and at a low rate of interest, any money he might require to carry on his trade. This proposition raised the first storm of the session. The second followed close upon the first, when it was proposed that the dowry secured to the Duchess of Orleans by France on her marriage should be paid to her. The Mountain had hardly ceased to thunder over this recognition of a solemn engagement when the Italian question was brought forward, and, after a tumultuous debate, settled in favour of the Government by a majority of nearly 300 votes.

The majority being compact, M. Creton brought forward a proposition that the frontiers of France should be thrown open to all her exiled princes. Whereupon Prince Napoleon, from the midst of the Mountain, added to the proposition that the amnesty should be extended to all political offenders. In a speech charged with hate of his cousin, from whom he had received only favours, he confounded the Bourbon princes with the promoters of insurrection and the builders of barricades, and contrived so completely to disgust the Assembly that, with the help of M. Berryer and the Legitimists, the joint proposition was thrown out by a great majority.

When the new Ministry were installed, and the emotions raised by the Prince President's message had calmed, the Assembly went smoothly through some work of secondary importance. The National Guards of Lyons were dissolved; the projected law on public institutions was referred back to the Council of State; a commission of enquiry into the state of the navy was appointed; the purchase of the breeding stud at St. Cloud was sanctioned; and some railway extension was voted. While the Assembly was pursuing these labours the

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High Court of Versailles was dealing severely with the rioters of June 13, and condemned, among others, thirty representatives. During the sittings of the High Court the President pardoned some 1,300 insurgents who had been the creatures of bad leaders, degraded Pierre Bonaparte from his rank in the Foreign Legion for infraction of discipline, and by other acts displayed his independence, his mercy, and at the same time his severity even to his own kindred. The time had come to answer the plotting Monarchists of the Right with conspicuous evidences of a vigorous national administration.

While on his guard Prince Louis Napoleon never, at this crisis of his political fortunes, placed himself in a directly hostile attitude towards the Monarchic factions that had betrayed him. Indeed, he was slow to believe ill of men. He felt an ingratitude like a wound. His partisans had seen the treachery of General Changarnier long before the President would, at any rate, consent to admit it.

The year 1850 opened with a ceremonial in honour of the commander of the 1st Military Division and the National Guard of the Seine, who had directed the suppression of the insurrections of 1849. The party of order—that is, the Monarchists chiefly—presented a sword of honour to General Changarnier. The hilt had been designed by the Count de Nieuwerkerke. It was enriched with two brilliants—one the gift of Prince Louis Napoleon, the other that of his cousin the Princess Mathilde. Could the General—then a daily visitor at the Élysée—carry such a sword over to the enemy? We shall shortly see; for the comparative quiet of the end of 1849 was not long maintained in 1850.

The attitude of the President before the country had been well defined by him in his speeches to the

magistrates of France[1] and to the exhibitors of national industry.[2] To the former he had said: 'It is time that good citizens should be reassured, and that they who endeavour to make their opinions and their passions triumph over the popular will should be resigned.' He exhorted the national exhibitors to realise, for the benefit of the worker, the philanthropic idea of giving him a fairer proportion of the profits of his labour, and so of securing him a better future. They were to tell their men that the Government was animated with two equal passions—a love of the good and the will to fight error and falsehood. 'While,' the Prince concluded, 'you will thus do your duty as citizens, believe that I shall do mine as First Magistrate of the Republic. Equally impassible under the pressure of calumny and of temptations, without weakness and without boasting, I shall watch over your interests, which are mine; I shall maintain my rights, which are yours.'

Nor had he spoken less candidly at the banquets given to him by the Legislative Assembly and the Prefect of the Seine to celebrate the first anniversary of his election. He said to the Assembly that it and he had a common origin, and that their interests were one; and he drank 'to the union of the public powers.' At the Hôtel de Ville he expressed a hope, which must have been faint in his breast, that his Government and the Assembly would work, in intimate alliance, together; so that the coming year might be fruitful of great results. They must labour in the cause of that wise and sacred liberty which was more and more menaced every day by the excesses that profaned it. Another cause to which they must devote themselves was that of the working classes, whose comfort was incessantly compromised by wild theories which aroused the most

[1] November 3. [2] November 11.

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brutal passions, and at the same time the most legitimate fears, and tempted men almost to hate the word 'improvement.'

But the majority had now given up the fight. During the session of 1849–50, which lasted to August 10, the dynastic heads of the Right played their part with consummate skill. While they supported the general policy of the Government in the Public Instruction Bill, the Press Bill, and that on the transportation of State criminals to the Marquesas Islands, they prepared a measure the sole object of which was to cut off from the electoral body 3,000,000 of the Prince President's supporters.

The chief author of this measure, known as the Law of May 31, was M. Thiers. He was zealously seconded by Legitimists as well as Orleanists; for both saw in it a means of putting aside Louis Napoleon. If M. Thiers hoped to get back to constitutional monarchy through the presidency of the Prince de Joinville, M. Berryer and his followers had dreams of the coming of Henri in the wake of Dictator Changarnier. But the ostensible reason of the measure for the restriction of universal suffrage was the production of a compact Conservative majority in the Assembly, by which the Government of the President was to be enabled to deal effectually with the Reds, and to obtain for the country a settled political existence that would start it on a career of material prosperity. Prince Louis Napoleon, when the chiefs of the majority first proposed their measure as a temporary expedient for the more effectual suppression of the elements of the social disorder which Ledru-Rollin and his friends had left behind them, firmly and vehemently refused to sanction it. In vain the Conservative chiefs pointed to the Socialist successes which were obtained at the Paris elections, consequent upon the condemnation of M. Considérant and others by the High Court of Versailles. The return

of an old Minister of the Provisional Government, a secretary of M. Louis Blanc's Luxembourg commission, a convicted participator in the events of June 1848, and Eugène Sue, a romance writer and Socialist, showed a change in the temper of Paris, which in the previous year had returned Conservatives. It is true that in the provinces some of the condemned men of the Mountain were replaced by Moderates; but the Conservatives of the Assembly refused to be comforted, and through the spring of 1850 held the Red spectre steadily in front of affairs, to frighten the supporters of universal suffrage.

The time was well chosen. M. Baroche, who had succeeded M. Ferdinand Barrot in the Ministry, had to meet the Assembly with a Budget showing a deficit of 8,000,000*l.* On the election of Eugène Sue, the Rente had fallen to 87f. 40c. Commerce was at a standstill. There was a general feeling of uneasiness—of an impending crisis—which M. de la Rochejaquelein proposed to end by an immediate appeal to the country to pronounce between Republic and Monarchy. This uneasiness was not lessened by the repeated personal attacks made by General Lamoricière and Colonel Charras in the Assembly against the Prince President—attacks which were the shot of skirmishers thrown out by the main body of his enemies.[1] So low had the *morale* of politicians fallen at this time that when the rupture of a suspension bridge at Angers[2] precipitated four companies of a light infantry regiment into the Loire, the Mountain did not scruple to insinuate that the bridge had been tampered with by the Conservatives, the democratic tendencies of

[1] 'General Lamoricière wrote to one of his friends: "I was quietly at home, rearing pigs. My colleagues of the Commission write that they are only waiting for me to march. I run up, and then they will do nothing."'—*Taxile Delord.*

[2] April 17.

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the unfortunate regiment being well known. No wonder that at this time of profound discouragement Lamartine said: 'The more I see of the representatives of the people, the more I love my dogs.'[1]

In the provinces hosts of tramps—many of them escaped from justice—spread terror in the small towns and villages. Incendiarism was rife. Secret powder manufactories were discovered. Press prosecutions for outrages against the Government were frequent. True to his preaching in exile, the Prince President had endeavoured to spread mutual benefit societies, popular banks in aid of labour, and communal libraries. A law for the eradication of unhealthy dwellings from the great towns had passed the Assembly. But the Red spectre was not to be laid; and the Conservative leaders, and lastly the President's own Ministers, told him that the men who sent firebrands to the Assembly, instead of moderate, law-abiding citizens, were the prowling rascals who overran the country, carrying their mischievous vote with them from one election to another. The remedy was to fix the residence of the voter.

Prince Louis Napoleon was opposed, as we have observed, to the least infringement upon the principle of universal suffrage. To say that he was the promoter of the Law of May 31 is to be ignorant of, or to deliberately falsify, an important passage of the recent history of France. When, after repeated refusals, he yielded to his Ministers and to the Conservative chiefs, he said: 'I admit the temporary suspension of universal suffrage. The law can, at a critical moment, suspend a right for the public safety; but it cannot abrogate nor destroy it. The

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1 *D'Orsay to Landor.* 23 avril 1850.

Lamartine me disait hier: 'Plus je vois des représentants du peuple, plus j'aime mes chiens.'

universal vote must be re-established directly circumstances will permit.'

On this declaration M. Baroche appointed a commission to prepare the draft of a measure on the reforms it was necessary to make in the electoral law. In the list of this commission we find the names of MM. Berryer, Thiers, de Broglie, Buffet, de Chasseloup, Laubat, Daru, Léon Faucher, Molé, de Montalembert, and de Montebello. The Prince's enemies were largely represented. They went to work with a will, and in a few days produced their draft. They proposed (with certain exceptions) that three years' residence in his commune should be a necessary qualification of the voter. The canton having been substituted for the commune, this law, which deprived three millions of Frenchmen of the working class of their vote, was, after stormy discussions, passed on May 31, 1850.

From the first the Prince President declined all responsibility in regard to the measure. The best proof of this is in a speech of M. Thiers, delivered in the following year, in which he said: 'The President desired that we should take the responsibility of it—he desired that this law should be carried to the Assembly by us, and by us alone.' [1] They who bore it to the Assembly and carried it through were, it is true, sincere haters of the principle of universal suffrage, who had lived and flourished under that mockery of representation to which Louis Philippe had reduced Parliamentary government; and they knew that their only hope of a reappearance at the helm of affairs was through such a restriction of the suffrage as would make the elections manageable by their creatures. Hence the extraordinary energy with which M. Thiers supported the measure, and declaimed against the domin-

[1] 'M. le Président voulait que nous en prissions la responsabilité; il voulait que cette loi fût apportée à l'Assemblée par nous, et par nous seuls.'—*Discours du 17 Janvier* 1851.

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ation of 'the vile multitude.' He said: 'I understand that there are men who will not forego the support of the multitude, but moral statesmen should repel it.' And then he added artfully: 'The good and true Republicans should not care for the vile multitude.' The 'vile multitude' was the epithet which M. Thiers applied again and again to the three millions of Frenchmen whom he was depriving of the franchise—two millions and a half of these voters being steady and orderly working men, who were compelled by the shiftings and fluctuations of their trade to repair from place to place, working a year in one town and a year in another. But they were not only anti-Orleanists: they were, in the main, Bonapartists. In ridding the representation of them the Orleanist leader reduced the ranks of his master's enemies, and cut off the main body of Prince Louis Napoleon's supporters.

He also violated the Constitution.

An American writer in the 'Overland Monthly' has devoted two exhaustive papers to a review of the political career of Napoleon III. shortly after his Majesty's death. They are written from an American point of view, and bear throughout the impress of an upright, impartial, and a cultivated mind. Of the Marrast Constitution and its violation in May 1850 he observes[1]: 'All over this Constitution was thus indelibly stamped the sovereignty of the people, and of the *whole* people, and *universal suffrage*. No fraction of the people could exercise sovereignty. The President was to be elected by universal suffrage, the Deputies to the National Assembly by universal suffrage, every elective office by universal suffrage. Every Frenchman who had not forfeited his political rights by crime was a voter. These were all Constitutional provi-

[1] *Napoleon III. Two Periods. First Period, 1848 to 1865. Second Period, 1865 to 1872.* By John W. Dwinelle. *Atlantic Monthly*, March and April, 1873.

sions—the base, body, life, and soul of the Constitution itself. And these were parts of the Constitution which Louis Napoleon, in his presidential oath, swore to maintain.

'But on May 31, 1850, the National Assembly assumed to pass a law annulling universal suffrage, and striking from the lists three million out of ten million voters. The President had no veto; he could only suspend the publication of a law, and ask for its reconsideration; but if reconsidered, if repassed by a bare majority, it became a law absolutely. This law was passed by such a large majority that it was deemed wholly useless to exercise this suspensive power.

'Where now was the Republican Constitution of 1848—the Constitution which declared that sovereignty resided in the whole people, and could not be exercised by a *fraction* of them, but which sovereignty the National Assembly, *the Legislature*, declared should thereafter be exercised by a *fractional seven-tenths* of the people? Where was the Constitution which declared that the President and the Deputies to the National Assembly should be elected by universal suffrage, but who the National Assembly, *the canvasser and judge of those elections*, declared should be elected by a vote three-tenths short of universal suffrage?

'The Constitution was gone—it had ceased to exist. *It was overthrown by the vote of the National Assembly, May* 31, 1850—the only power which could enforce this unconstitutional law, because it was the canvasser of votes and judge of elections under the Constitution.

'These are not new views; they have been current among the genuine republicans of France ever since this Law of May 31, 1850, was proposed; at the time of its passage, and ever since. They have, therefore, existed as part of public history and public opinion for more than twenty-two years.

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'Eugène Ténot, a distinguished Republican, editor of the "Siècle" (Paris) and author of "Paris in December 1851; or, the *Coup d'État* of Napoleon III.," says: "The Conservatives of the Legislative Assembly, so great was their terror of a legal triumph of the Republicans in 1852, did not recoil before the idea of *laying violent hands on the basis of the Constitution itself—on universa suffrage.* Then was prepared the too famous Law of May 31, 1850, which, by a stroke of the pen, *struck out three million electors.* This evident *violation of the Constitution in one of its fundamental features* radically changed the situation. It introduced into the country an element of deep perturbation, *left everything in doubt again, and challenged a civil war, which awaited only a question of time.* In passing the Law of May 31 the reactionary majority thought they had guaranteed social order against the anarchists, and had simply purified universal suffrage by excluding therefrom what M. Thiers called the 'vile multitude.' It had destroyed itself."

'It is thus clear that it was a factious, conservative majority in the Assembly that overturned the Constitution of 1848, and who had in their own hands the power to enforce that perversion of the Constitution. But this fact, conceded by the leading Republicans of the day, is not thought worthy of record by Messrs. Victor Hugo, Schlœcher, and Kinglake in their partisan publications.'

CHAPTER X.

THE RECESS OF 1850.

THE Assembly remained in session after the passing of the Law of May 31 until August 11, when it adjourned to November 11. But between May and August many significant facts and incidents happened. The return of Émile de Girardin, a Socialist, for the moment was welcomed by the Left, as proof that the new law was no death-blow to their party; and it encouraged them to avow that the suffrage which had been taken from the Prolétaire should be given back to him by force in 1852. On the other hand the Assembly, while refusing pensions to the heroes of February, gave rewards to the wounded of June; voted the completion of the Emperor's tomb at the Invalides and the reparation of the Versailles fountains; raised the State annuities, which workmen could purchase on advantageous terms, to 600 francs; and voted a supplementary credit of 2,400,000 francs to cover the extraordinary expenses of the President. This credit, inopportunely proposed, was received with considerable opposition. The Prince's enemies said that it was the price of his adhesion to the Law of May 31. The Monarchical factions seized upon it as an opportunity of laying the President under an obligation to General Changarnier, who was put up to support it when it appeared on the point of being lost. It was finally carried in a full House by only forty-six votes, the Monarchists and the Reds voting for the first time cordially together

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against the President. Instead of fortifying General Changarnier's position, his trick led to his downfall.

Another question of importance which the Assembly decided before the prorogation was that affecting the press—a question of stamps originally, but which the heat and passion of factions widened until it became one which thoroughly revolutionised—through the celebrated Tinguy amendments—the aspect of the press of France. M. Charles de Forster wrote a few months after the discussion:—

'Let us note what happens in France now that the law proposed by M. de Tinguy compels the journalist to sign his articles. It was hardly proposed when a general outcry arose. The press immediately felt that this was real repression. But rage and hate fought in vain: the legislator stuck to it, and he was right. Public opinion, according to the discreetest of the papers, the "Journal des Débats," had given up the press, because its excesses in attacking constantly governors and governed had rendered all government impossible. Formerly the title of a newspaper was a banner under which readers ranged themselves, following its campaigns. The committee who directed it, covered with mystery, were often obscure persons who were able to move that important weapon—public opinion. Now, reduced to individualities, the power of an ill-written paper falls from day to day, because people look at the signature before reading an article. According to the name on the sack is their eagerness to dip into it. Empty reasonings cannot be covered with sonorous words, since the words are those of Mr. Anybody. We now see in France individual journalists; but the old committee—a kind of Venetian Council of Ten—has disappeared. Now it is not this paper or that, but only M. Blank who affirms and argues in a certain journal, which is very different. This legis-

lation is, to our mind, preferable to any censorship; for a censorship, as Benjamin Constant observed, makes the Government responsible, in spite of itself, for all that the papers may say. "It is vain to protest: it will exist in the public mind. The Government, being able to suppress everything, is answerable for all that appears." [1]

The Tinguy law was one which the majority hostile to the Élysée swiftly turned to account. The editor of 'Le Pouvoir,' a Bonapartist organ, was called to the bar of the House, and condemned to pay a fine of 5,000 francs for an article against the Assembly which would assuredly have been left unnoticed had it been directed against the Executive Government.

M. Baze attacked 'Le Moniteur' a few days later for an onslaught similar to that of the Bonapartist organ; but the Assembly declined to interfere herein. All its animosity was reserved for the elect of the nation, who, albeit ineligible for re-election as President, and deprived of the main body of his supporters by the Law of May 31, continued to gain in the popular esteem, and to be the personage to whom society was looking fixedly as the only means of escape from the political dead-lock to which the Monarchical parties had reduced their country through their treachery to the President and their plots for Chambord or D'Orléans. The public, in the meantime, showed unequivocal signs of discontent with the internal feuds, personal bickerings, and the eminently unpatriotic character of the Assembly. Hypocrisy, treachery, and dynastic conspiracies had presided over its birth; and it was showing itself worthy of its origin. When it adjourned for the recess on August 11, after stormy debates on the Budget, the mocking citizens of Paris

[1] *Du Royaume à l'Empire.* Par Charles de Forster. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1854.

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talked contemptuously of the closing of the *Atelier National à 25 francs*.

M. Henri Le Mullier observes of the prorogation of the Assembly:—

'While they were thus in a hurry to finish their labours, Paris is preparing a kind of war toilette. The boulevards, the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Antoine, are macadamised. The neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville is cleared, in order to facilitate the defence of this important position. The Place de la Grève is being joined to the Place de la Concorde by the prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli. In this street, as in the boulevards, stones are replaced by macadam. These are strategical lines along which artillery, cavalry—all troops, in short—can manœuvre rapidly without danger. Let the Assembly, then, retire in peace!'[1]

Before separating the Assembly took care to nominate a Permanent Commission, which, fiercely hostile to the President and his Government, would watch any act with suspicion, and leave unused no opportunity for damaging the national favourite. General Changarnier, although still holding his high command and being a daily visitor at the Élysée, was sufficiently trusted already by the Royalist parties to be in the list with Berryer, General Saint-Priest, Molé, General Lamoricière, and Casimir Périer. The appointment of this Commission was regarded as a declaration of war between the Assembly and the President; yet it did not disturb the President's plans for the autumn. While the Commission did not scruple to receive the most scandalous and baseless stories about Bonapartist intrigues, through the police agents attached to the Assembly, Prince Louis Napoleon

[1] *Histoire parlementaire de la Présidence.* Par Henri Le Mullier. Garnier Freres, Paris, 1852.

Bonaparte made more triumphant provincial progresses. On August 15 he was at Lyons, where he told the citizens that he was the representative not of a party, but of two great national manifestations which, in 1804 as in 1848, endeavoured to save, through order, the great principles of the Revolution. He protested against the rumours of a *coup d'état* which his enemies were spreading. 'Surprises and usurpations,' he said, 'may be the acts of parties who have not the support of the nation; but the elect of six millions of suffrages executes the will of the people, he does not betray it.' And then he added: 'If culpable pretensions were to revive and threaten to compromise the repose of France, I should know how to reduce them to nothing, by invoking once more the sovereignty of the people—for I admit none to be its representative more than I am.'

But the speech delivered at the grand banquet offered to him at Cherbourg on September 6, during the grand naval fêtes there, in which the English figured largely, was the most important of his appeals from his enemies in and around the Assembly to the nation. He declared that wherever he went he found that the public expected much from the Government. On all sides he was asked to dig canals and lay down railways and complete works lying in abeyance—in a word, to assist suffering agriculture and give new life to industry and commerce. He begged to assure his countrymen that these prayers did not fall upon inattentive ears. But he could act only on the condition that the nation gave him the means—that is, gave strength to his Government, by which it could put aside the dangers which threatened. He reminded Cherbourg of all that Napoleon had done for her; and thanked the Normans for the support they had given him, which he took to be an expression of their gratitude to his uncle. Alluding to the presence of English ships and

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officers in the port, he said: 'They can convince themselves that if we desire peace it is not through weakness, but in that community of interests and with those natural sentiments of esteem which bind together the two most civilised nations.'

While the President was thus strengthening his relations with the French nation, and letting them see how thoroughly he understood the measures which were necessary for the revival and increase of their material prosperity, MM. Thiers, Molé, and de Broglie made a pilgrimage to their dying king at Claremont, and MM. Berryer, de la Rochejaquelein, de Saint-Priest, and other Legitimists went to do homage at Wiesbaden. M. Thiers deliberated with the Orleans princes as to the bases of the restoration of their House upon the ruins of the Republic; M. Berryer took orders from his 'august refugee,' and organised deputations to the Count of Chambord, who invited him to his throne and his people. The result of the conferences at Wiesbaden was a memorable circular,[1] in which the Legitimists were told to keep themselves in readiness to take advantage of impending events; that all the members of the Legislative Assembly who could leave France had paid a visit to the Count of Chambord; that the Count reserved to himself the direction of the political situation, but had, in prevision of sudden contingencies, nominated delegates in France to act for him; that he formally condemned the principle of appeal to the people as denying the great principle of hereditary monarchy; that his delegates in France, in whom all party authority resided, were the Duc de Lévis, General de Saint-Priest, and M. Berryer, representatives of the people, and the Marquis de Pastoret. This manifesto was addressed to the Legitimist notabilities

[1] Dated August 30, 1850.

of each department, with the request that they would put themselves in communication with the delegates.

Here were sections of the Assembly heading overt organisations for the restoration of the elder and the junior Bourbons, and consequently for the overthrow of the Prince President and of the Republic. Neither put the least faith in the support of the nation—nay, one denied its right to have a voice in the question. Both relied on the army, and on the army through one general, who was bound in honour and in gratitude to be loyal to the President, to whom he owed his command. The elder Bourbon—made of more chivalrous stuff than the princes of Orleans—boldly proclaimed that the kingship of France was his right divine, and believed that if only some Monk would lead the way, his soldiers and citizens would bear him back to the palaces of his ancestors. The junior Bourbon relied on a juggle, a scratch vote, an Orleans President of the Republic, round whom the Count of Paris could steal back at his mother's skirts to the throne of Louis Philippe. But both the representatives of the elder and the junior Bourbon, albeit the bitter enemies of the Republic, were ready to coalesce with the Republican representatives in the Assembly against the President; for the removal of Prince Louis Napoleon from the political scene must necessarily be the first step back towards any Bourbon monarchy.

The President, on his return from his provincial progresses, passed several reviews of the Army of Paris at St. Maur and Satory, desiring to test thoroughly the extent and depth of his popularity with the soldiers whom he had, for three years, confided to the command of General Changarnier. He was pleased to find that he was as popular among the soldiers as he had been among the sailors of Strasburg and the country populations with whom he had come in contact on his provincial tour.

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The soldiers would receive him with cries of 'Long live the President! Long live Napoleon!' and even, now and again, of 'Long live the Emperor!' These manifestations gave umbrage to General Changarnier, since they diminished the prestige of his power in the Assembly. It was reported that the Bonapartists fed the enthusiasm of the army with deep potations of wine and rich rations; and these have not denied that the regiments were occasionally regaled after a dusty review. The reviews and the refreshment of the soldiers were within the competence of the Chief of the State.

The Permanent Commission looked on the proceedings of the President with jealous eyes, and were never weary of calling the Ministers before them to make explanations on the most trivial circumstances. The Society of the Tenth of December—a Bonapartist association which included all the notabilities of the party—was the particular mark for the attacks of the Commission; and they demanded its instant dissolution, alleging against it acts to which the tribunals proved it to be a stranger—acts the like of which these Legitimist and Orleanist inquisitors would not have scrupled to commit in furtherance of their own ends. General Neumayer, commanding the First Division of the Army of Paris, no doubt at the instigation of General Changarnier, issued an order of the day forbidding his troops to cry 'Long live the President!' and 'Long live Napoleon!' whereupon the President removed the General,[1] as a well-merited rebuke. The Commission was furious, and declared that the Constitution had been violated. But the President was strictly within the right conferred upon him by the Constitution, and had made sagacious use of it in

[1] General Neumayer was not an irreconcilable. He accepted the command of the 14th and 15th Military Divisions as a compensation for his removal from Paris.

foiling the designs of the generals who were in the hands of the Bourbon intriguers. Even the movements of regiments were made the subject of special and hostile enquiry; but the Government held on their way, declining to be brow-beaten by gentlemen who had just returned from Wiesbaden and Claremont. The Republican organs were simple enough to echo the puerile plaints of the Commission that was seeking the downfall of the President of the Republic, only as a preliminary to the destruction of the Republic itself. These movements of troops were not to the taste of Changarnier, and he declared to his party that they made his command over the army less secure.

The part played by General Changarnier during the Parliamentary recess of 1850, and down to the time when the Prince President dismissed him from his command, has not found a single apologist among writers of any political complexion who have written on the Presidency and the *coup d'état*. He was a member of the Permanent Commission, and at the same time he was a daily visitor at the Élysée. He served two masters, and betrayed one; boasting that he could send the Prince to Vincennes any day in a basket phaeton. The Commission was kept informed on the movements of the enemy. So important and dominating did his position appear to the General, that he treated the Minister of War with a high hand, and almost openly assumed the airs of the coming man. Forgetting at the end of 1850 that it was he who had at the beginning of 1849 urged the Prince President to keep himself in close relations with the army, and had encouraged the demonstrations of the soldiers, he retorted on the President's removal of General Neumayer in an order of the day which declared that the army had no opinion, and should be silent under arms. And then, his attitude being too

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manifestly hostile, he was compelled to refrain from his daily visits at the Élysée.

The Permanent Commission saw their life drawing to a close; and although they had filled the press with false and extravagant rumours, kept the idea of a *coup d'état* constantly before the public, been the industrious disseminators of scurrilous charges against the Government, and lived perpetually on the point of summoning the Assembly to save the country in danger, they had dealt no heavy blow at the Bonapartists. On November 8 one of their organs—the 'Journal des Débats'—was furnished with the story that was to make up for lost time by bringing the Assembly back from their holidays under the excitement of vengeance for a foul crime meditated against their president, M. Dupin, and General Changarnier. On the 7th the Permanent Commission had received a most trustworthy report that the Society of the Tenth of December had met on October 29, and adopted a plan for the assassination of M. Dupin and General Changarnier, the assassins being drawn by lot. The Commission had been demanding in vain the dissolution of the Society of the Tenth of December, as being a political association not allowed by law; but the Minister of the Interior had not complied with the demand. The Society was a Bonapartist gathering which included a very formidable list of notable persons, but it was not a political body, and the Monarchical factions assailed it in vain during two years. To attribute assassination to it, as one of its *raisons d'être*, was the act of desperate men. On the morrow of the meeting of the Commission MM. Baze, Faucher, and Monet actually waited on the Minister of the Interior to express the astonishment of their colleagues that no warning had been given to the President of the Assembly, nor to the commander of the Army of Paris, that an attempt on

their lives was meditated, and that precautions had not been taken to protect these personages. M. Carlier, the Prefect of Police, wrote to the 'Débats' that its report was utterly without foundation, and that the pretended plot was a mystification of which an agent who was not under his orders (but was under those of the Commission) had been the dupe. At the same time M. Yon, the dupe in question, was reprimanded, and deprived of his salary, for having as police commissioner to the Assembly given false news to members of the Assembly, without at the same time remitting a report on the same to the Prefect of Police. General Piat—one of the founders of the Society of the Tenth of December—and its President, also addressed an indignant denial to the 'Débats,' in which he showed that the Society had not even a meeting on the day when Policeman Yon pretended that two assassinations were discussed and resolved upon. 'As for the plot of which you speak,' said the General, 'I should feel that I was degrading my entire life if I condescended to deny the existence of a deliberation of which assassination was the object.' But, although the President's enemies were confounded by the swiftness and completeness with which Yon was convicted of having vamped up a foul charge, they covered their defeat with an act of defiance. The questors of the Assembly took Yon under their special protection, placed him at the head of a police for securing the safety for the Assembly, and made his salary payable out of the Parliamentary dotation. But his reign was short. It was proved that he had employed one Alais, a police agent of the lowest class, to get up the assassination story. Alais, pressed, and confounded by his own contradictions, confessed all. Even then the Assembly refused to part with Yon. He had more sense of blame than his employers and

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patrons; for he retired before the force of public indignation.

Thus was the session of 1850 passed by the parties that were disputing for power in France. Throughout Prince Louis Napoleon maintained that quiet bearing which was a perpetual puzzle to his foes. He made no answer to General Changarnier's aggressive order of the day. He even sacrificed his Minister of War, General d'Hautpoul, to the animosity of the chief of the Army of Paris; and finally dissolved the Society of the Tenth of December, the only gathering of his party.

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[1] M. de Lamartine in the tribune called the Alais affair 'un honteux chiffon de police, indigne d'être ramassé par le dernier agent de la plus vile police dans les ruisseaux d'une capitale.' M. Odilon Barrot, in his *Mémoires*, also repudiates the story as baseless.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DISMISSAL OF GENERAL CHANGARNIER.

On the meeting of the Assembly on November 11, M. Baroche read the President's message. It proved the inexhaustible patience of the Chief Magistrate towards the enemies who were bent on his destruction. He referred to the laws on which the Executive and the Legislature had agreed to strengthen the hands of Government against the disturbances of public order, and congratulated the country on the growing confidence and prosperity which had sprung out of this harmonious action of the Executive and the Assembly. Then he reviewed the home action of the Government. The National Guard—deliberative bodies with arms in their hands—had been disbanded in 153 towns; great military divisions had been created to ensure tranquillity throughout the provinces; the agricultural districts had been calmed by the removal of the village schoolmasters who had been the agents of the Socialists; the savings bank and benefit society laws were working excellently well; the financial condition of the communes was improving; telegraphic lines were being extended; since June 1849 2,400 convicted revolutionists had been liberated, and there remained only 458 under restraint; the Government had prepared measures on the industrial employment of prisoners and the treatment of juvenile criminals, and one making provision for the old soldiers of the Republic and the Empire.

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The finances had improved; the deficit had been diminished; and there was every reason to hope that the Budget of 1851 would show a revenue equal to the expenditure. Foreign trade had revived. The progress of the country under new laws and guidance would have enabled the Government, within the space of three years —that is, between 1849 and 1851—to enrich the country with public works to the extent of 200,000,000f., to relieve the poorest class of tax-payers, and to lighten the burdens of agriculture to the extent of 27,000,000f. Then the President dwelt on the plans prepared for the completion of the main lines of railway, for the extension of canals and high roads and the improvement of rivers, as necessary to the rapid development of the riches of France. The Government had also given attention to the introduction of agricultural machinery, the improvement in the breed of cattle and horses, the application of science to the cultivation of the earth, the establishment of model farms. Many other measures affecting the development of arts, manufactures, and industries were in preparation, including one for the encouragement of the great fisheries. All these measures bore the impress of Prince Louis's mind.

Glancing abroad, the President congratulated the Assembly on the downfall of the turbulent demagogy of Rome, 'which throughout the Italian peninsula had compromised the cause of real liberty.' The brave soldiers of France had had the honour of restoring Pius IX. to the throne of St. Peter. 'Party passion,' said the President, 'will not be able to obscure this shining fact, which will fill a glorious page for France. The constant aim of our policy has been to encourage the liberal and philanthropical intentions of the Holy Father. The Pontifical Power pursues the realisation of the promises contained in the *motu proprio* of September 1849.' Then

the President turned to England, and remarked that France had, in concert with England, sent her naval forces to the Levant in order to show her loyal sympathy for the independence of the Porte, menaced by Russia and Austria, who were expected to demand the extradition of the Hungarian and Polish refugees on Turkish territory. The French Government had also concluded advantageous navigation and other treaties with foreign Powers. The account of all this useful and hopeful work was followed by a peroration which compelled applause even in the hostile Assembly to which it was addressed.

'This is,' said the President, 'a rapid review of the condition of our affairs. In spite of the difficult circumstances under which we have laboured, law and authority have so far recovered their empire that nobody believes in the success of violence henceforth. Still, the more that fears as to the present diminish, the more do people give themselves up to speculations about the future. France, before all things, desires repose. Still disturbed by the dangers which society has run, she remains apart from the quarrels of men and parties, which appear so mean in the presence of the great interests which are at stake.

'I have often declared, when the opportunity has offered for publicly expressing my thoughts, that I should regard as great criminals those who, for personal ambition, should compromise the little stability which the Constitution affords us. This is my profound conviction, and it has never been shaken. Only the enemies of the public peace have been able to misrepresent the simplest acts which spring from my position.

'As First Magistrate of the Republic, I have been obliged to put myself in communication with the clergy, the magistracy, agriculturists, manufacturers, the civil service, and the army, and I have been eager to express

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to them, at every opportunity, my sympathy and my gratitude for the support which they afford me; and, above all, if my name as well as my efforts have combined to strengthen the spirit of the army, which I alone command, according to the terms of the Constitution, I venture to say that it is a service that I believe I have rendered the country, for I have always used my personal influence in the cause of order.

'The invariable rule of my policy will be, under all circumstances, to do my duty, and nothing but my duty.

'Everybody, except myself, is now allowed to wish that our fundamental laws may be at once revised. If the Constitution includes flaws and dangers, you are all free to lay them before the country. I alone, bound by my oath, fold myself within the strict limits traced by the Constitution.

'A great number of the Councils-General have expressed a desire that the Constitution shall be revised. This wish is addressed only to the Legislative power. As for me, the elect of the people, and deriving power only from them, I shall always conform to their legally expressed wishes.

'The uncertainty of the future raises, I know, many apprehensions, by reviving many hopes. Let us all know how to sacrifice these hopes to the country, and let us busy ourselves only with its interests. If, during this session, you vote the revision of the Constitution, a Constituent Assembly will recast our fundamental laws, and regulate the future of the Executive power. If you do not vote it, the people, in 1852, will solemnly give expression to their will. But, be the solutions of the future what they may, let us understand one another, so that neither passion nor violence may decide the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire the people with a love

of peace, by being calm in our deliberations. Let us inspire them with the sanctity of the law, by keeping always within it; and then, believe me, the progress of good political habits will compensate for the danger of institutions created in days of mistrust and doubt.

'Rest assured that that which preoccupies me is not who will govern France in 1852, but how to employ the time at my command so that the transition, whatever it may be, shall be effected without agitation or trouble.

'The noblest and most elevated aspiration of a pure mind is not to discover, when in power, the expedients by which it may be perpetuated, but to seek incessantly the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principles of authority and morality, which defy the passions of men and the instability of laws.

'I have loyally opened my heart to you. You will give me your confidence in return for my frankness, your assistance for my good intentions; and God will take care of the rest.'

This account of solid work done in the cause of order and for the revival of national prosperity, and this renewed appeal to the Monarchical parties to sink personal aspirations and labour together loyally for the good of France, was well received everywhere save in the Monarchical and Republican coteries. These compared it with the Prince's provincial speeches, and perceived only that they had to contend against a power that was striking deep roots in the soil. While MM. Berryer and Thiers had been dallying with their exiled princes the elect of France had been opening lines of railway, and promising more—foreshadowing the liberal commercial system[1] which he was destined to perfect years

[1] At the banquet offered to the President by the Lyons Chamber of Commerce, in the autumn of 1850, he said: 'To re-establish order and con-

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afterwards in conjunction with Richard Cobden and Michel Chevalier; regretting at Rheims, where of old the Kings of France were crowned, not that they could no longer crown a man, but that they could not crown an idea—that of union and conciliation; remarking that he had not attacked a Constitution made, as all men knew, against him, but that he was firmly resolved to keep the power with which the nation had invested him untouched by any man or party of men.

This was the position of public affairs when, in mid-November 1850, Royalists and Republicans resolved to overthrow the man whom France had resolved to make the master of her destinies. The usual banquet was offered to the President by the Assembly on the anniversary of his election; but it was a mockery of goodwill—a feast with bitterness in every dish. Yet the guest, in reply to the toast of his health, still talked of harmony between the Executive and the Assembly. Having referred to the calm which the country was enjoying, he said: 'But this quiet has its danger also. Perils unite, security divides. Cannot, then, good be produced without bearing in it the germ of dissolution? Nothing would be worthier of the public powers than to give a proof of the contrary. May our union, then, continue in the calm as it has stood during the tempest.' The President then drank to 'the harmony of the public powers.'

The harmony hardly lasted during the digestion of the dinner. The impatient Mountain opened the campaign against the Executive with a hostile 'interpellation.' The condition of the prisoners of Belle Isle, the public

fidence, to maintain peace, to complete as speedily as possible our main lines of railway, to protect our industry, and to develope the exchange of our products by a progressively liberal system of commerce—this has been and will be the constant aim of my efforts.'

lotteries, the case of M. Mauguin, a representative imprisoned at Clichy for debt, were opportunities for violent attacks on the President and his Ministers. M. Mauguin's case led to the first serious conflict between the Executive and the Legislative power.

M. Dupin, as President of the Assembly, signed the order for M. Mauguin's release; and Questor Baze was entrusted with the execution of the order, with power to call armed force to his help if necessary. The debtor was liberated; but the order given to the questor to call upon the military in case of need did not escape the Bonapartist paper 'La Patrie.' This journal published an extract from a general order of General Changarnier, in which the officers of the army were commanded to obey no order which did not emanate from the Lieutenant-General, and to turn a deaf ear to the representatives of the Assembly. The extract created a violent commotion among the representatives; and the Minister of War, General Schramm, was called upon from the Mountain by Prince Napoleon Bonaparte for an explanation. He requested a short delay, that he might make enquiries. This was refused, and General Changarnier rushed to the tribune and denied that he had ever issued such an order, but added that he might have given one *viva voce* in October 1848, in the heat of combat, which was never intended to be a standing order. He protested vehemently that in none of his orders had he questioned the right of the Assembly to call upon the army to protect it. The result was (the opportunity was too good a one to lose) a vote of confidence in the General, and consequently a formal censure of the Government, before which the Ministry resigned.[1]

Unfortunately, however, for the fame of the com-

[1] January 2, 1851.

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mander of the Army of Paris, 'La Patrie' on the morrow published the order *in extenso*. It was signed by General Reibell, and could be only a summary of his chief's instructions. To this General Changarnier made no reply; and M. Delord, in his History, makes no allusion to it, because (we can imagine no other reason) its existence fully justified the course adopted by General Schramm. It had been drawn up under the orders of the commander of the Army of Paris; but it had never been communicated to the Government. Here, then, was evidence not only of the duplicity of the soldier whom the President had trusted with his right arm, but of fatuous vanity that would tempt him to snatch a cheer and a vote from the Assembly at the risk of after-condemnation for deliberate duplicity. No wonder that, on the morrow of the vote of confidence given to him by the President's Republican and Royalist enemies, his underlings were in fear of his immediate dismissal; and that the majority of the Assembly feared lest this dismissal should lead to wild commotion, to be closed by a *coup d'état*. During the night the questors ordered the guard in and round about the Assembly to be doubled. When the President heard this, he quietly said: 'They may have as many soldiers as they please, but enemies I promise they shall not have.'

There was agitation in Paris, but business was not disturbed, and the Funds rose. The people would not answer to the turmoil and trouble of the Assembly. General Changarnier remained for the moment at his post—waiting to be dismissed. Several important discussions and votes took place, while the Ministerial crisis continued. The Mountain protested in vain against the election of General La Hitte on the ground that it was null and void because it had not been conducted on the Constitutional principle of universal suffrage;[1] a tele-

[1] The Law of May 31 having restricted the suffrage.

graphic Bill was passed, as was also a measure to facilitate the marriages of poor people, and M. de Montalembert read his report on the cessation from work on fête days.

During this interval the Prince President was forming his new Ministry, and preparing to deal with the man who, having twice advised him to risk a *coup d'état*, and having completely won his confidence, had betrayed him to the Permanent Commission and gone over openly to his enemies in the Assembly. Slow to strike, but resolute in striking, Prince Louis Napoleon never hesitated for a moment after the last scene in the Assembly. Loth to believe in the duplicity of a man in whom he had placed his entire trust, the Prince had again and again refused to give credit to the reports in regard to General Changarnier's disloyalty which his friends repeatedly conveyed to him. But the day when the falsity of the seeming friend became clear as daylight, he who was to have been the dupe became the Imperial master.

M. de Beaumont-Vassy, in his anecdotal work[1] on the events which immediately preceded the *coup d'état*, gives a suggestive picture of the commander of the Army of Paris at the Élysée:—'When the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden, the President's aunt, was in Paris before the *coup d'état*, General Changarnier, being seated near her one evening, said—

'"Madam, it is probable that your Royal Highness, like everybody else, has heard something of certain rumours regarding me and the Prince President; and I am glad of the opportunity of dissipating any painful impression they have made on the mind of your Royal Highness. It has been said, and it is repeated every day,

[1] *La Préface du Deux Décembre.* Par le Vicomte de Beaumont-Vassy. Paris, Amyot, 1853.

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that I am the adversary of the Prince, and that all my arrangements are made to cast him into Vincennes, should he attempt to touch the Constitution. Well, I am happy in having the opportunity to reassure you as to the bad intentions which are attributed to me, and to tell you that I shall always be, under any circumstances, on the same side as the President—ready to serve him or to defend him with my sword."

'The Grand Duchess, surprised and pleased at this unexpected revelation, called to the Prince, who was talking at hand. "Louis," she said, "come and let me repeat to you the agreeable words M. Changarnier has just spoken to me." And she repeated word for word her conversation with the General. The Prince shook the General's hand.'

M. de Vassy adds: 'A strange scene, when it is set near the speech in which, a few months later, General Changarnier spoke of pretorians in delirium, and threatened with the same sword he had spontaneously laid at the feet of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie.' But the General had not yet offered his sword for the last time to Prince Louis Napoleon.

At length the new Cabinet was formed, or rather the old one was remodelled. MM. Bâroche, Fould, Rouher, and de Parieu retained their portfolios; and M. Drouyn de Lhuys replaced M. La Hitte in the Foreign Office, while MM. Bonjean and Magne accepted respectively the Ministries of Agriculture and Commerce. This Cabinet had agreed to face the Parliamentary storm which the disgrace of General Changarnier was sure to provoke.

On January 9 a decree of the President removed General Changarnier from his command, and divided it, giving the command of the National Guards of the Seine to General Perrot, and that of the 1st Military Division

to General Baraguay d'Hilliers.[1] There was consternation in the Assembly; but there was confidence at the Bourse, for the Funds rose when it became known that General Changarnier—the sword of the Monarchical majority that was to dispose presently of the Prince President, and lead France a suppliant to Wiesbaden or Claremont—was a danger put aside and disposed of. On the morrow of the General's downfall the Assembly, in great perturbation, appointed a Commission, at the suggestion of M. de Rémusat, to take cognisance of passing events, and to submit to the Chamber the resolutions which circumstances might make necessary. The convulsive movements of the Chamber, and the fiery harangues of MM. Berryer, Dufaure, and Bedeau, were the effects of rage and not of reason. The army was no longer in the hands of any faction of the Assembly; and yet neither the Right nor the Left could deny that the President was strictly within the law in the bold step he had taken.

The Commission, under the presidency of M. de Broglie, made short work of their mission. They searched the reports of the Permanent Commission in vain for an accusation against the Executive, and were compelled to fall upon the Ministry, who had replied to a shower of questions as to their intentions that their policy was that of the Presidential message of November 12. 'We are,' said M. Baroche, 'within the limits of the Constitution, and we desire to remain so.'

The debate on the report of the Commission, which called for a vote of censure on the Ministers, lasted two days; and its effect was to make the breach between the President and the Monarchical majority of the Assembly

[1] A deputation of leaders of the majority had waited on the President to urge him to maintain General Changarnier; but he received in silence the men whom he knew to be his enemies, and who pleaded for Changarnier only as their instrument to be presently used against him.

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irreparable. At the same time it was a defeat for M. Thiers and his followers, for he had carried his vote of censure with the help—given under stern conditions—of M. Cavaignac and the Republicans.

To the accusation that the Government were preparing to violate or destroy the Constitution, and that the soldiers' cheers at Satory meant the Empire, M. Baroche replied by asking the signification of the autumn pilgrimages to Wiesbaden and Claremont. M. Berryer took up the challenge boldly and spoke the language of candour and sincerity. He had been to Wiesbaden to attempt a fusion that could alone save French society; and he conjured the Monarchical majority to hold together, for they formed the only bulwark against the reign of the demagogue or that of the tyrant.

M. Thiers followed in a speech in which he endeavoured to show that it was he who had sacrificed his personal preferences in order to form a national party; that his party might have preferred M. Cavaignac to M. Louis Bonaparte, or might have picked a candidate out of the majority, or that they might have seized upon power had they been ready to speculate on the reign of a woman. But they gathered about the name after which the masses were running. In other words, M. Thiers, as we have shown, allied himself with the winning candidate, whose success he felt himself, after mature deliberation, powerless to avert. He said that as the President of the Republic was ignorant of France, he undertook to teach him, and to direct his mind to what was beneficial and practical. We have seen how during two years M. Thiers and his associates under false pretences contrived to hide their selfish designs, influenced the policy of the Élysée, and in many instances duped the prince whom they pretended to advise and support. The President of the Republic alone was sincere in his desire to

stifle the passions of rival parties, and to create a national party with the good of France for its sole object and ambition. The Monarchical factions supported and often directed his Conservative policy against the Reds, their purpose being only to divide his councils and defeat his patriotic purpose, in order to make way for their king. It was in this speech that M. Thiers accepted the entire responsibility of the Law of May 31, and declared it to be the measure that had restored peace to his country. He concluded by lamenting the encroachment of the Executive on the Legislative power, and remarking that unless the former yielded to the latter all would be lost. 'I will add only a word,' said the artful speaker. 'There are only two powers—the Legislative power and the Executive power. If the Assembly gives way, there will remain one only; and then the form of government will be changed. And be certain of this—the word may come sooner or later—the word will come when it can—THE EMPIRE IS MADE!'

This peroration was well calculated to stir and enrage the Republicans, whom M. Thiers was then courting, as well as his own followers and those of M. Berryer. It fevered the debate; it envenomed the speakers' tongues. It announced that the day of battle between the Assembly in the interests of the Bourbons, and the Executive and the nation in that of the Prince President, had come. M. Cavaignac and the Republicans were deluded by the speaker into the idea that the fight against the Élysée was for the Republic—a Republic which the nation had never sanctioned, and which a majority of the electors had repudiated, as the presence of Prince Louis Napoleon at the Élysée and the anti-Republican majority of the Assembly proved.[1] M. Thiers,

[1] After the election of the President, the organ of Hugo, Paul Meurice, and Vacquerie asked, addressing themselves to the *Siècle*:

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having failed to make the President a warming-pan for the Count of Paris, was trying to serve the House of Orleans and the house in the Place Saint-Georges at the same time, by fawning on the Moderate Republicans and smiling on the Mountain.

M. Changarnier, following M. Thiers, protested that he had never favoured any party or faction; that he had striven only to maintain order; and that of the five parties who divided and distracted France when he assumed his command the demagogues and the partisans of an Imperial Dictatorship were the two who had reason to hate him—and he was proud of their hatred. This from the lips of the man who was appointed to his command by Prince Louis Napoleon, who had been an intimate daily visitor at the Élysée, who had suggested a military *coup d'état*, and who only wavered in his allegiance to the President when the Bourbon factions whispered of greater glories to be got out of the President's enemies. But his pride suffered a wound at the hands of the Assembly, from which he expected salve and comfort in his downfall. The debate was closed by the proposition of an order of the day which condemned the authors of his disgrace, and declared that he retained the entire confidence of the Assembly. The Mountain, however, would not pay General Changarnier a compliment, and the order of the day was on the point of being lost. M. Thiers, to avoid defeat, was compelled in the end to sacrifice the

'If the election of December 10 proves that the country will not have the Republic, what becomes of that "general consent" which alone can authorise the form of government inaugurated in February? And by what right would the Republic exist against the will of the nation?'

'The election of December 10 had taught me what France did not want. Out of hatred for the democracy, out of hatred for the Moderate Republic, power was handed down to Louis Napoleon. To the possibility of a Fructidor the nation replied by the possibility of a Brumaire.' —Proudhon, *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire.*

unfortunate General, and to put up M. Sainte-Beuve to submit a simple vote of want of confidence in the Ministry, which Moderate Republicans, Reds, Legitimists, and Orleanists joined pell-mell to carry. Alone among the notable members of the Assembly M. de Lamartine stood apart, and spoke eloquently for the prerogatives of the Chief Magistrate and his right to dismiss from command an officer whom he could no longer trust.

With the vote of January 18, 1851, General Changarnier disappeared from the political scene as a personage of power and consequence.[1] He took one more opportunity of venting his spite against the President; but it was the spite of a dismissed servant, to which men paid little attention.

[1] General Changarnier died on February 14, 1877.

CHAPTER XII.

AN INTERIM MINISTRY.

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LEFT once more without a Ministry, unable to find one in the undisciplined and excited crowd to which M. Thiers's tactics had reduced the Parliamentary majority by the vote of the 18th, and deserted by M. Odilon Barrot and his friends, to whose patriotism he appealed to form a Constitutional Ministry, the President was compelled to look for the elements of a Council outside the Assembly. The men he selected were remarkable for their administrative capacity, and included M. Schneider, who now first appeared on the political scene. Of the old Ministry M. Magne alone remained. This interim Administration was appointed to carry on the affairs of the country until the subsidence of party passion should enable the President to form a definite Government.

Still patient, and resolved to hold on the way he had traced for himself, and keeping his enemies well in sight, the President appeared undisturbed by the wanton vote which had driven a thoroughly efficient working Ministry from office. When he had arranged his interim Council, he addressed a message to the President of the Assembly.[1] It preached the old sermon—moderation and conciliation in the interests of France.

'Public opinion,' said the Prince, 'relying on the wisdom of the Assembly and the Government, has not

[1] January 24, 1851.

been unsettled by recent events; nevertheless France is beginning to suffer through discords which she deplores. It is my duty to do all that depends on me to prevent the grave results which may flow from them. The union of the two powers is indispensable to the peace of the country. But, since the Constitution has made them independent one of the other, the only condition under which they can act together is reciprocal confidence. This being my conviction, I shall always respect the rights of the Assembly, keeping intact, at the same time, the prerogatives of the power which I hold from the people. In order to close a painful disagreement, I accepted, after the recent vote of the Assembly, the resignation of a Ministry which had given to the country and to the cause of order striking tokens of its devotion. While desiring to reconstitute a durable Cabinet I saw that I could not find the elements of it in a fortuitous majority, and I discovered with regret that it was impossible to frame a combination through the minority, important as it was.

'In this conjuncture, and after vain efforts, I resolved to form a transition Ministry, composed of men of special qualifications, belonging to no faction of the Assembly, and ready to give themselves up to their administrative duties without thought of party. The honourable men who have accepted this patriotic task will deserve the gratitude of the country.

'Public affairs will therefore be carried on as in the past. Prejudices will dissolve before the solemn declarations of the message of November 12. A real majority will reconstitute itself, and harmony will be re-established, without any sacrifice of the dignity which constitutes their strength, on the part of the two powers. France wishes for rest before all things, and she expects from those whom she has invested with her confidence

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conciliation without weakness, calm resolution, and confidence in the maintenance of the law.'[1]

This was the language of moderation and of candour; but the combined factions in the Assembly pretended to see in it an attempt to humiliate them. They knew that it would be popular with the country, that it would add strength to the President, and that it was calculated to increase the growing anger with which the public had been watching the obstruction and dishonest policy of the Assembly for the last two months. The various sections of the majority, therefore, discussed impatiently the means of convicting the President of having betrayed the spirit of the Constitution by forming an entirely extra-Parliamentary Executive. The most ardent of his enemies talked about impeachment; the discreetest bore in mind, through their anger, that he was strictly within the limits of his prerogative. It was at this moment that M. Thiers's hopes rose once more, and that he saw his way to power as Minister, with M. Molé for colleague. The interim Ministry received no quarter. An obscure member of the majority was put up to ask the Executive whither they pretended to lead the country.

'To a definitive Ministry,' was the reply of the Keeper of the Seals.

But this answer only adjourned the general onslaught on which the enemies of the Élysée had resolved, and which was to leave the President no alternative save an Administration composed of the leaders who were bent on his destruction. The opportunity occurred on February 3, when the Minister of Finance demanded a supplementary credit of 1,800,000 francs for the State expenses of the Presidency of the Republic. The Assembly at once appointed a Commission—composed of Reds, Orleanists, and Legitimists—to report on the credit de-

[1] L'impassibilité dans le droit.'

manded, and the leaders prepared to reject it unless their conditions were accepted. These conditions were the immediate formation of a Ministry out of their ranks. The transaction was disdainfully rejected, and the debate began. It was conducted with great acrimony, General Changarnier distinguishing himself for the last time by the violence of his invective against the Government which had deprived him of the power of assisting the Bourbons back to Paris.

The debate drew forth, however, a defender of the policy of the Prince to whom M. Berryer must listen with respect, and M. Thiers must, at any rate, appear attentive and deferential. M. de Montalembert was a Frenchman of the noblest type. He combined the chivalry and the social graces of the old régime with a liberal appreciation of the intellectual movements of his own time. His idea of honour must have had a Quixotic aspect in the sight of the shrewd political servants of the Monarchy of July. When he appeared in the tribune to endeavour to prevent the majority from committing an act of cowardice towards the President, he spoke not as the advocate of the Élysée, but as the doughty servant of the Truth according to his light. He was no Bonapartist; he was a patriot who would not stand by and see his country torn to pieces by selfish factions, even when some of these wore the colours to which his race had always been true.

'I am,' he said, 'neither the surety, nor the friend, nor the counsellor, nor the advocate of the President; I am his witness, and I wish to bear my testimony that he has failed in nought in the great cause of order which we have all wished to serve. I come to declare from this tribune that the President, in my opinion, has remained faithful to the mission which has been confided to him before being confided to us—to the mission of restoring society, of re-establishing order, and of repress-

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ing demagogism. When was it said to the wave of anarchy which menaced Europe as well as France: "Thou shalt come thus far, and no farther"? I do not hesitate to affirm that it was at the election of December 10. Yes, it was when men saw, in the freest and sincerest election that ever took place, five millions and a half of Frenchmen return, by an unanimous and irresistible impulse, to ideas of order, of tradition, and of authority, and personify them in the son of a king and the nephew of an emperor; they felt that anarchy had been thrown back, at least for a time, and by moral means, which is more useful and fruitful than when it is suppressed by the force of arms.'

M. de Montalembert then touched on the efforts which the President had made to unite the leaders of the different parties, and to create a national party. He showed how the Prince had endeavoured to create such a party even in his first Ministry, which comprehended all shades of men of order from M. Bixio to M. de Falloux, and how, through all the difficulties which had been wilfully cast in his way, he had remained faithful to his original programme—loyal to the various parties even after they had duped him. Then he described the manner in which the Prince had been deserted, and said that he traced the unfortunate division in the majority, by which France was suffering to-day, to the Law of May 31. For when the Monarchical parties saw that this law had been passed without creating public riots, and that peace and prosperity appeared to be settling upon their country under the Prince President, they said to themselves: 'Perhaps the country will attribute these blessings to the actual Government, and will prolong the powers of the Prince.' From that day they began to act against him. M. de Montalembert remarked he knew that he defended the President at the risk of being called a courtier of the

Élysée; but he would rather be the courtier of the Élysée than fawn upon men who had passed their lives playing upon and profiting by the democratic passions of their time—than be the slave of the prejudices, hates, and ambitions which lay at the heart of the old parties. In conclusion the speaker said: 'I owe nothing to the President; I ask nothing: he can do nothing for me. There is, however, one thing of which I am proud, and it is that he can never by any favour, by any attention, spoil the pleasure and the honour I feel in coming here to afford him this feeble testimony, and to protest against one of the blindest and least justifiable of that long series of acts of ingratitude which is called the history of France.' In spite of this protest the Assembly refused the credit by a majority of 102. CHAP. XII.

The effect of the vote was aggravated in the public mind by the simultaneous appearance of a letter from the Count of Chambord to M. Berryer, thanking him for his speech on the pilgrimage to Wiesbaden, and expressing confidence that France would soon find where her best hopes lay. Indiscreet friends of the President announced a national subscription to furnish the money which the Assembly had refused; but this was promptly suppressed by the Prince. His reply to the defeat of his Minister of Finance was the reduction of his establishment, and the sale of most of his carriages and horses. The next move of the Orleanist section of the Monarchical majority was the revival of a proposition to abrogate the law of banishment against the princes of the House of Bourbon. This proposition, which fell in with M. Thiers's plan for the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, did not, however, suit M. Berryer. The Monarchical parties had thought of restoring the Monarchy by carrying the Prince de Joinville as second President. The Orleanists were the original authors of this scheme. The Prince had accepted it, but

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the Legitimists held back. 'They would vote with pleasure for the candidature of the Prince de Joinville,' Donoso Cortès[1] wrote at this time, 'if the Prince would engage himself beforehand to bring back Henri V. But he refuses to make this engagement.' In other words, the Prince was ready to swear fidelity to the Republic, but only for the benefit of his own House.

M. Berryer opposed the abrogation of the law of banishment on the lofty ground that Legitimacy did not require the law to confer its rights; that it was exiled by force, not by law; that it submitted to force, but repelled generosity. The clamorous debate which ensued loosed once more the passions of the various factions, and after the question before the Assembly had been adjourned for six months, their animosities burst out again and again in a series of hostile and puerile propositions. Every question became a party battle-ground. The reimbursement of the forty-five centimes tax, the press, education, the Roman expedition, and finally the reconstitution of the National Guard were debated in the wildest *furia francese*. It was reported that pending the passing of the new law the Government was about to order the election of the officers of the National Guard, in conformity with the decree of the Provisional Government; whereupon General Lamoricière shouted, 'Beware as to the prorogation of the authority of the officers: you may be asked to prorogue other powers!' M. Delord asks, 'Might not this answer have been made to him: "If the Parliamentary sovereignty is to be substituted for election, in enlarging the duration of powers conferred by election, who will prevent it from proroguing the municipal councils, the Councils-General, the Presidency itself?"'

But the Assembly voted the continuation of the law of the Provisional Government pending the promulgation

[1] Spanish Ambassador in Paris during the Presidency.

of 'an organic law,' and passed to the consideration of many questions of minor importance. The suspension of MM. Michelet's and Jacques's lectures (become political orations) at the College of France, the punishment of adulterators of food, pensions for the widows of firemen and others killed in the execution of their duty, the expedition in Kabylia,[1] the dissolution of the refractory National Guard of Strasburg, were among the subjects disposed of, while party-plotting went on more briskly than ever in the lobbies, and while political leaders were preparing for the great event of the session—the proposition of the Government for the legal revision of the Constitution.

Before this vital question could be brought before the Assembly, it was necessary that the Government should be represented by a Ministry that could command attention, and be certain of the support of, at any rate, some sections of the majority. Another attempt at conciliation on the part of the President produced a Ministry that represented in about equal proportions the personal policy of the President and the Moderate Parliamentarians. The former were MM. Rouher, Baroche, Fould, and Magne; the latter MM. Léon Faucher, Buffet, de Chasseloup-Laubat, General Randon, Crouseilhes. It was not, however, the Ministry of M. Thiers's recent dreams. The mission of the new Administration was to carry the revision of the Constitution—the only way out of the perilous deadlock in which Orleanists, Legitimists, and Republicans had combined to place their country, in their fear and hatred of the man whom their countrymen had elected to be Chief Magistrate over them, and who was now even more popular than when, albeit comparatively unknown, he had commanded between five and six millions of votes.

[1] In which Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud was distinguishing himself.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

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THE Monarchical parties were in the main favourable to a revision of the Constitution so soon as they saw that their schemes were for the moment impracticable, but then each party had a separate and distinct plan for a new Constitution. The Republicans gave an uncompromising opposition to the revision, alleging that the Law of May 31 had lopped nearly 3,000,000 electors off the national register, and had thereby vitiated or destroyed the Constitution, but in reality because revision meant the re-election of Prince Louis Napoleon. So that when, on April 10, 1851, the Revision Ministry presented themselves to the Assembly, their defeat was a certainty. The Republicans formed one-third of the numerical strength of the Assembly; and, according to the Constitution, the revision must be carried by two-thirds of the members.

But if the defeat of the Ministry was inevitable, the advocates of revision were not discouraged. On March 4 a powerful committee was formed at the house of M. de Beaumont-Vassy, composed of men of various political opinions, but who agreed on the necessity for a revision of the Constitution as the only escape from revolution and the Reds. On this committee M. de Tascher was the only marked Bonapartist. Its operations were confined to an appeal to the country to demand revision in the legal form of petitions. With the assistance of

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M. Léon Faucher, Minister of the Interior, the committee was put in communication with every canton and commune in France. The Minister himself was an ardent Revisionist, for he regarded revision as the last plank of Parliamentary government in France. Speaking to M. de Beaumont-Vassy during one of their interviews, he said:[1] 'My most ardent wishes go with you; and, in spite of the cries of the Assembly, I have written to the prefects to support this Revisionist movement energetically, for I firmly believe it is the only remaining hope for Parliamentary government. You see, M. de Beaumont, I shall probably be the last Parliamentary Minister of this régime who will occupy this chair; but I shall fall with the Constitutional régime, for I would not remain after it, in spite of my warm affection for the President personally.'

Throughout the spring and early summer the Revision Committee worked hard, and obtained 2,000,000 signatures to petitions for the revision. While the Orleanist organs steadily opposed the repeal of the Law of May 31, because it promised them a strong party in the Assembly to be elected in 1852, and at the same time a notable diminution of the power of the President, Dr. Véron[2] and other subtle and cunning writers warned the country that the Law of May 31 was to be the rallying-cry of the Reds, and that they would bring under their standards of revolt the 3,000,000 disfranchised Frenchmen whom M. Thiers had dubbed 'vagabonds' and 'vile.' The Doctor described the President's acquiescence in the law restricting the franchise as the only fault he had committed, and he had been tricked into that. He besought the Assembly to remove from M.

[1] *La Préface du Deux Décembre.*

[2] *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.* Vol. v. Paris, 1857.

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Ledru-Rollin's bloodthirsty hordes of *émeutiers* their last excuse for a general revolt, and to re-establish universal suffrage, as the only suffrage on which a republic could exist. He showed that, as France approached the time when an impracticable Constitution was to engulf her in revolution once more, and spread a Jacquerie through her fair and fruitful departments, her commerce began to languish, her funds to fall, and her capitalists to hoard their capital. Who would lay out money in seed when it was doubtful whether he would be permitted to gather his harvest? Gold, when civil war was blighting the land, was safest in a flower-pot underground.

The Revision Ministry, although backed warmly by the country, could not rely on the least favour or goodwill from the Assembly. Their advent to power had been saluted by a narrow escape from a vote of want of confidence, in which M. Sainte-Beuve, then of the Left, figured as accuser, and from which M. Thiers and a number of his followers deliberately absented themselves. During the spring the Ministers were treated with coldness; and none of the questions which were brought forward, as that on the sale of newspapers in the public streets, or that on the reform of local government or administration, drew party leaders from their watch-boxes. The Revision debate was the struggle for which all were reserving themselves, and which was to decide the fate of parties. These parties showed indications of strange divisions and combinations. The democrats who opposed the Law of May 31 as having disfranchised their brethren by millions were supported in their opposition to the law by many Conservatives, who had discovered that the measure which they had passed in haste went much further than they intended it should go, and struck off the national electoral register not only M. Thiers's 'vagabonds,' but some 2,000,000 peaceable

cultivators of the soil—an injustice they were anxious to redress even at the risk of restoring great masses of supporters to Prince Louis Bonaparte. But the Republicans stood alone in their opposition to a general reform of the Constitution. According to them, it was working excellently well, since it was tending to the triumph of the Left. In the Assembly, then, there was a strong party for the repeal of the Law of May 31, but ready to fight for the maintenance of the Constitution of 1848 in its integrity. There was another party—mainly Orleanist—which insisted upon the maintenance of the restricted franchise, but was ready to reform the article of the Constitution which forbade the re-election of the President. But the 111th article of the Constitution declared that a resolution to reform it could be taken into consideration only during the last year of the Assembly's existence, and after three debates, held at intervals of one month, and adopted by three-fourths of the members present. In this way the Constituent Assembly had put the sovereignty of the people, which they professed to worship as the basis of all power and authority, in chains, in favour of a Republic which the sovereign people had not only never sanctioned, but had flouted on December 10, 1848.

In 1851 the leading lawgivers of 1848 were already ashamed of their work as not radical enough. M. Ledru-Rollin demanded the suppression of all Parliaments in favour of 'the direct government of the people by the people.' M. Victor Considérant agreed with M. Ledru-Rollin; and the two were supported by M. Rittinghausen, a popular German writer who trod representative institutions under his feet as bad remnants of the feudal times. These theories of the Mountain were taken up, worried, picked to pieces, by M. Émile de Girardin, and then made the groundwork of an assault upon every form of

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sovereignty. Disappointed M. de Girardin was, for the moment, as fierce a democrat as M. Proudhon, although not so skilful a dialectician. But the great French journalist was a powerful helper in the unsettling of the public mind. The disciples of Ledru-Rollin, Considérant, and Co. showed from time to time in the course of the spring that they had lost none of their old audacity. The secret societies of the provinces blossomed into such occasional acts of violence as attacks upon great châteaux and threats of pillage of the hateful rich. In May the police discovered in Paris secret presses, at which the most violent manifestoes were being printed. One, emanating from the 'Committee of Resistance,' preached murder 'of the infamous aristocrats,' and no quarter to the enemies of the people, who had been spared in 1848; another, sent forth by the 'Central Committee,' warned the Ministers of Bonaparte that if they did not restore universal suffrage the liberty of the press, the right of meeting, they would have to meet a war of extermination; a third, drawn up by the 'New Mountain,' under the presidency of M. Michel (de Bourges), and signed by twenty-four members of the Left, while warning the people against 'inopportune insurrections,' bade them take the signal for action only from the Left. M. Pelletan told his countrymen that there was not a woman in labour who was not bringing a Socialist into the world. On the other hand, the Archbishop of Paris addressed an eloquent appeal to the faithful of his diocese, in which he described the perils which menaced society, and implored men to avert them by the exercise of a spirit of Christian forbearance and charity. But the Orleanist majority of the Committee of the Rue de Poitiers were too busy with their fusionist and other intrigues to listen to the Archbishop; and as for the acts and writings of the Reds, they reckoned these among the

influences in their favour. When society had been made sick almost unto death, they might bring back the elder branch if the fusion had been consummated; or if it had failed, they might reinstate the Orleanist régime, to which three-fourths of them belonged.[1] France was asked to perceive, at this time, a bright promise of safety and prosperity in an interview between the Duke of Aumale and the Duchess of Parma in a Neapolitan theatre. An Orleans prince had saluted the daughter of the Duchess of Berry and saved French society! The Legitimists, who had their special meeting-place in the Rue de Rivoli, were not ready to sink or swim with the majority of the Rue de Poitiers. M. de Falloux, at their last meeting before the Revision debate,[2] besought his party to identify itself with the interests and sufferings of the country, and so in good time to bring back their King, 'whose noble head, beautiful as it might now appear, would always look naked and incomplete until it was covered with the crown to which Heaven had destined it.' He also paid a high compliment to General Changarnier, to whose energy he attributed the re-establishment of order. This panegyric was opportune; for the papers had just been busy with an account of an interview which M. de Persigny had had with the General. It was alleged by the General's friends that M. de Persigny had asked the General to appeal to the majority in the Assembly to rally to the cause of the President, as the only rampart against the invasion of the barbarians—promising him, not immediate reinstatement in his command, but high rewards in the future. Chan-

[1] 'Of the sixty members of the electoral committee known as the Committee of the Rue de Poitiers, forty-five at its origin belonged to the Orleanist party and fifteen to the Legitimist.'—*Annuaire historique universel, ou Histoire politique pour* 1851. Paris, Thoisnier Desplaces.

[2] May 18.

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garnier was represented as having received his visitor with cold disdain, and as having dismissed him in disgust.

M. de Persigny was as indiscreet as he was devoted. He did not deny that he had sought out the General on his own responsibility and unknown to the President, but he added that he had taken the step on certain overtures which he had reason to believe had emanated from the General himself. This was not the only instance in which the cause De Persigny had at heart suffered through the blindness of his zeal and radical defects in his character.

Such, then, was the condition of France and of political parties when, on May 28, the Assembly, having then entered on the third year of its existence, was competent to enter upon the question of the revision of the Constitution. To this revision the Chamber was invited, not only by floods of petitions and other marked expressions of the popular will, but by a proposition got up by the 'Réunion des Pyramides' and signed by 233 representatives.[1]

We pass over the preliminary feints and petty engagements which preceded the great debate. The patient reader of the various conflicting histories of this melancholy passage of French history rises from his task bewildered, often indeed, as to where the truth lies, or whether it lies anywhere in a well so polluted by hate, cupidity, duplicity, and shameless self-seeking; but convinced infallibly of this, that the bands of enemies who each in their own way sought the overthrow of the President acted, not in the interests of France, but in the hope that they would be the gainers by the scramble which his fall from power must bring about. The

[1] MM. Molé and Thiers and General Changarnier, although members of the 'Réunion,' kept back their names.

Mountain expected to win with M. Carnot or M. Nadaud. In the secret societies M. Blanqui was to lead to victory over prostrate France, from whose bosom the rich were to be swept as a pestilence. The Orleanists still hoped to carry the day with the Prince de Joinville; and the Legitimists were ready to see in Changarnier a President who would open a passage for their King to the Tuileries.

The debate at length opened on May 31, on a resolution drawn up by a commission appointed by the Assembly. According to this resolution, a special commission was to examine propositions for the revision of the Constitution, and to present their report to a time preceding their appointment by one month. The resolutions of the commission, if rejected by the Chamber, could not be re-introduced for three months, and then only after having been re-examined and reported upon by a second commission.

The debate was opened by M. Jules Favre, who opposed the resolution on the ground that it would enable the enemies of the Republic to revive the question of revision every three months, and so to keep up a perpetual agitation in the country. He attacked the 'neophytes recently converted to the sovereignty of the people, who were its servants to-day on the condition that they might strangle it to-morrow;' and claimed for the Republicans that it was they who were the true Conservatives. The retort from the majority was, that the Republicans—a small minority in the country—had bound the nation in an iron band, from which it must be liberated, or through which it would burst with dangerous violence. While the debate was proceeding petitions in favour of revision were poured upon the table of the Assembly. These expressions of public opinion were met by charges against the Government

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that they had been obtained under improper pressure; but it was impossible to destroy the character of a manifestation in which millions of men were concerned. Public opinion was distinctly and emphatically in favour of revision, as the only escape from revolution. Of this the Government had proofs, while the debate was proceeding, in the enthusiastic reception given to the President in the provinces. Crowds flocked even to the stations through which the President's train went at express speed, and wherever he alighted he was met by the municipal authorities with speeches of thanks for the past and confidence in the future under his Government. Already the people cried 'Long live Napoleon!' and 'Long live the Emperor!' At Dijon the mayor remarked that the nation would know how, in the exercise of its sovereignty, to express its gratitude and confidence. To which the President replied that France desired neither to return to the old régime, disguised in any form, nor to try dangerous and impracticable Utopias. 'It is because I am,' he said, 'the most natural adversary of one and the other that the country has placed its confidence in me. If it were not so, how could the touching sympathy of the people towards me be explained —a sympathy which survives the paralysing effect of the political struggle, and absolves me from all share in their sufferings? If my Government has not been able to realise all the improvements it has contemplated, you must blame the manœuvres of factions, which paralyse the goodwill of Assemblies, as well as that of the most patriotic Governments. . . . I take advantage of this banquet, as of a tribune, to open my heart to my fellow-citizens. A new phase of political life is opening. From one end of France to the other petitions demanding the revision of the Constitution are in course of signature. I await with confidence the will of the nation and the

decisions of the Assembly, which will be inspired solely by a care for the public good.'

The President ended by saying that the most unjust and violent attacks of which he had been the object had not ruffled him, and that he should obey the will of the nation, come what might. This speech, delivered in the presence of the President of the National Assembly, and of several of the Ministers, produced a profound sensation in the Assembly and throughout Paris. It was rumoured that the speech was even more emphatic against the Assembly than in the 'Journal Officiel' it appeared to be, and that Léon Faucher had hastened to Paris after its delivery to modify a paragraph in which the President declared that the Assembly, eager to support him in repressive measures deemed necessary for the preservation of order, had impeded every proposition he had submitted in the interest of the country.

The Funds fell: everybody believed that a crisis was at hand. In the Assembly a motion of General Gourgaud in favour of pensions to certain men who had been wounded on February 24 served as battle-ground against the Assembly. M. Charras asked what was the soldier's duty, if his chief, becoming a traitor, led him to an attack upon the constituted authorities? This question gave General Changarnier an opportunity of which he eagerly availed himself.

'The army,' he exclaimed excitedly, 'profoundly impressed with a sense of its duty and its dignity, does not desire more than you (the Left) to see the misery and the shame of the governments of Cæsars, alternately proclaimed and overthrown by drunken partisans. Nobody will compel the soldiers to march against the law, to march against this Assembly. The army will obey only the chiefs whose voice it is accustomed to follow. Representatives of France, deliberate in peace.'

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M. Léon Faucher replied that the conspirators were not in the Élysée, but elsewhere. Undoubtedly they were among the friends of General Changarnier, and his tirade was intended to rally the troops to the Bourbons. This was no forlorn hope to the minds of the Orleanists and Legitimists. M. Berryer went the length of saying that in an attempt to employ force against the Assembly the President of the Republic would not find four men and a corporal to obey him.

Under the irritation of discussions which amounted to debates as to the side which the army would take in the event of a collision between the Assembly and the Executive the representatives elected their commission, who were to examine all the propositions for the revision of the Constitution which had been laid before the Assembly. It included such men as MM. de Broglie, Molé, O. Barrot, de Lamartine, Cavaignac, Berryer, Montalembert, Falloux, Jules Favre, Edgard Quinet, and Pascal Duprat. It was a fairly representative commission, in which the balance of opinion was in favour of total revision—the reasons varying with the party interests of each commissioner. The discussions of the commission were warm and vigorous, and MM. de Broglie, de Falloux, Berryer, de Montalembert, de Lamartine, all supported—for widely differing reasons—the revision. But the two practical men who spoke, and from opposite sides, were M. de la Moskowa and M. Baze. M. de la Moskowa said: 'If you do not revise the Constitution, especially Article 49 of it, the will of the people will break through it in 1852, and their unconstitutional suffrage will subordinate an inoperative Constitution to a man adopted by the national favour.' M. Baze,[1] the arch enemy of the Élysée, insisted

[1] An obscure lawyer from Agen who had had greatness thrust upon him—and who appears to be a heaven-made questor—since he is

that the Constitution would not be revised. 'The solution is known beforehand.' Nobody can doubt that the majority demanded by the Constitution will not be obtained, and nobody will venture to advise that the Constitution shall be violated.' While the report of the commission was in preparation the President of the Republic made progresses to Poitiers, Châtelleraut, and Beauvais, and was well received, save by a few Reds posted along his route. His speeches, less aggressive than those at Dijon, were those of a calm and observant man, whose confidence in himself and his mission no plots nor combinations of parties could shake. His goal was before him, and he was quietly making his way to it.

On July 8 the report of the commission was read to the Assembly. Appended to it was a report on the petitions in favour of revision which had been presented. This latter report raised an angry debate on the origin of the petitions, M. Odilon Barrot declaring, in reply to General Cavaignac, that they appeared to him to be the result of a really national movement. The great debate on which the destinies of France hung was opened by President Dupin, who desired to impress the Assembly with all the gravity of the situation, and who exhorted the various hostile parties in the Chamber to behave with dignity and forbearance. M. de Falloux was the first speaker. He argued in favour of a total revision of the Constitution, and boldly attacked the Republic as the régime which kept Frenchmen split up in factions and ruined the spirit and industry of France. General Cavaignac defended the Republic and opposed revision; M. Berryer, in an impassioned and brilliant oration, supported Legitimate Monarchy, and while he

actually in the same position at Versailles—'autocrat,' as the *chroniqueurs* call him 'of the Parliamentary buffet.'

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supported the strictly legal revision of the Constitution opposed the prorogation of the power and the re-election of the President of the Republic. The first week of debate was, as M. Dupin observed, 'the week of toleration.' The second week was opened by M. Victor Hugo, when toleration and decency vanished. Nearly all the writers who have described M. Hugo's speech agree in describing it as a monstrous exhibition of wounded vanity and shameless apostacy. In his 'Contemplations' M. Hugo says—

'On m'appelle apostat, moi qui me crus apôtre.'

When, in July 1851, he fell foul of all his old friends in the interests of the Mountain (who were only coldly thankful) he obtained neither sympathy nor respect from any part of the Chamber. Here is the scene, as drawn in the impartial pages of the 'Annuaire historique universel:'—

'M. Victor Hugo had the sorry honour of breaking this party truce. Taunts, outrages cast in the teeth of every party, coarse insults against all that is honourable—M. Victor Hugo forgot nothing that could give him a scandalous notoriety. This speech, full of bitterness, of balked ambition, of rancorous vanity, was not even excusable on the ground that it was uttered in the passion of the moment. The prepared anger, the curiously turned antitheses, the recited impertinences, excited the disgust rather than the temper of the Assembly. The wild neophyte of the Mountain was feebly supported by his new friends. When, in reply, M. de Falloux and M. Baroche successively denounced M. Hugo as a renegade and as a disappointed place-hunter, they were cheered by the majority. M. de Falloux called M. Hugo "le plus pindarique des lauréats de la Restauration," and M. Baroche apostrophised him as the man who sneaked into the Committee of the Rue de Poitiers, and who on May

26, 1848, was begging a place in the party of order by concocting antitheses against the Red Republic.'

The debate was at length brought to a conclusion by M. Odilon Barrot, who, while exposing the radical vices of the Constitution—which made it an impracticable, an impossible one—declared in favour of a reformed Republic. He was in favour of the revision in the interest of no pretender or individual, but in that of his country. On July 19 the division took place. No less than 724 representatives voted. The majority of three-fourths required by the Constitution would have been 543; but only 446 voted in favour of the revision, while the Republicans, assisted by such deserters from the Conservatives as MM. Thiers, Dufaure, and Changarnier, mustered 278 against it. The victory was with the minority!

This victory was followed up by M. Baze, who carried a vote of censure of the Ministry by a majority of 13, in a house of 653 members, for having excited citizens to petition in favour of revision.

The success of M. Baze was a signal defeat for M. Léon Faucher and his Ministry.

On this vote M. Odilon Barrot remarks:—

'Here, then, was M. Léon Faucher, the man of the Law of May 31, and for a long time the favourite of the Conservatives, censured in his turn, and the majority divided into two almost equal fractions, full of abuse of each other. It was with such an army that Louis Napoleon was to be fought; it was with such a majority that they had the presumption to talk about constituting a Long Parliament! It is evident that the direction of affairs in the Assembly had left the hands of men of discretion, and had passed into those of passionate and extreme politicians. There was in such a situation enough to dishearten those who, like me, saw the day of

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open war between the two powers coming, and who saw only too clearly the issue of it. Still duty bade us to struggle to the last moment.'[1]

M. Barrot, like the Duke de Broglie and others of the Monarchical or anti-Bonapartist majority, were in favour of a moderate revision of May 31, as, for instance, the reduction of the residential qualification to one year, because they thought that this mild reform would, on the one hand, take a weapon out of the hands of the President, and, on the other, leave a large proportion of his supporters disfranchised.

MM. de Broglie and Barrot were members of the great Municipal Reform Commission that was sitting at this time; and they invented a plan for carrying their revision of the Law of May 31 by a side-wind. It was an ingenious ruse. They proposed to make the municipal electoral law what they wished the political franchise to be, and then, the municipal law once in operation, to move that the political should be assimilated to it. The plan was met by the strenuous opposition of the Montagnards, who desired the continuance of the deadlock, because in it lay the hopes of the Red Social Republic; and it was scouted by the Bonapartists, who maintained that the Red Spectre could be laid only by universal suffrage.

Indeed, immediately after the rejection of the revision of the electoral law, the President, at a meeting of the Council, proposed that the policy of the Government should be an unconditional return to universal suffrage—a course that would have quashed the rising elements of insurrection, but at the same time would have scattered the Monarchists. M. Léon Faucher and his colleagues at once resigned.

[1] *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot*, tome quatrième, p. 167. É. Charpentier, 1876.

On August 10, having appointed a Permanent Committee of Legitimists and Orleanists, with a sprinkling of mild Republicans, the Assembly adjourned to November 4; and the partisans of revision went their several ways, determined to use the recess to further strengthen a cause that had already 446 representatives and a million and a half of petitioners in its favour. The country was in favour of revision, and a minority of the Assembly was against it. The triumph of the minority meant a Socialist revolution, with a programme of horrors deliberately prepared beforehand; that of the Parliamentary majority and of the nation, the establishment of peace and order and the revival of trade, now at a standstill.

But MM. Thiers, Dufaure, Changarnier, and Co., like the Socialists, wished to maintain discord, and not to promote harmony between the powers; and, with this object, they did not scruple to vote, more than once, with the party of 'the vile multitude.'

CHAPTER XIV.

THE END OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

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THE first important event of the recess was the retirement of the Ministry, and the formation of a new Cabinet, in which the chief hero of the recent campaign against the Kabyles, General Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, and M. de Maupas first appeared on the political scene. The general from Algeria, for whose entire devotion to the cause of the President Colonel Fleury answered, was appointed Minister of War. The attitude of Changarnier, Lamoricière, Charras, and other superior officers made the selection and advancement of the most popular commanders of the army in Algiers (where alone French soldiers had seen service for many years past) indispensable to the safety of the Executive Government. The conduct of Changarnier justified Fleury's mission to Algeria as a measure of common prudence. The dismissed commander-in-chief had made it clear that there were Legitimist, Orleanist, and Red generals at the back of the Parliamentary factions, and that the President would not be safe in the Élysée if he failed to surround himself with officers in whose loyalty he could put his trust. The generals who were gradually drafted from Africa to command the divisions of the army in obedience to the Chief Magistrate were assailed as a set of dissolute *sabreurs* by the Burgraves, Republicans, and Socialists; but it will be seen in the sequel that they were, one or two excepted, soldiers of whom the

country had good reason to be proud, and who were destined to add to the glory of France in the Crimea and in Italy.

The Cabinet in which De Saint-Arnaud appeared as War Minister included MM. Magne, Fortoul, Lacrosse, Casabianca, Turgot, and de Thorigny. MM. Baroche and Faucher had retired. They had been main instruments in carrying the Law of May 31; they had failed to overthrow it, and they were not prepared to follow the President on the resolute course he had determined to pursue against the factions which were compassing him round about.

The almost unanimous vote of the Councils-General in favour of the revision of the Constitution (the majority was 79 and the minority 6), and, at the same time, the ever-increasing hostility of the Parliamentary factions to the course on which the nation showed by unmistakable signs that it was bent, increased daily the alarm with which the commercial and working classes watched the course of events. It was this alarm, indeed, which justified the political action of the Councils-General. It engrossed men's minds; and an extraordinary variety of expedients for separating the dates of the renewal of the executive and legislative powers was submitted to the country. The least extravagant was the election of a new Assembly three months before the dissolution of the old; so that when this expired a new Parliament would be ready to take its place, to the cry of 'L'Assemblée est morte! Vive l'Assemblée!'

But the factions were too busy plotting through the recess to give cohesion and shape to any patriotic proposition. The fate of the country was in the hands of party men, and not of patriots. On August 25—the anniversary of Louis Philippe's death—the Orleanists made a demonstration in London. The candidature of the Prince de

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Joinville had been already openly canvassed, and had been approved. M. Guizot went to Claremont and had an interview with the Duke de Nemours. The latter dwelt on all the difficulties of such a candidature—the opposition of the Legitimists and the Conservatives who were partisans of the Élysée—and declared himself partisan of the fusion of the two branches of the Bourbons; but at the same time, desiring to lose no chance for his family, he promised that the Joinville candidature would not be disavowed at Claremont. At Frohsdorf the same self-seeking, timorous outlook on the troubles of France was kept; and MM. Berryer and Thiers, with their respective followings, returned to Paris for the re-opening of the Assembly ready to make any bargain that would get rid of the President to begin with, and bring forward their dynasty afterwards.

The Democrats and Socialists were not less active than the Monarchists, and they were more courageous. M. Gent, who had defended the Lyons insurgents of 1849, had spread a network of sedition throughout the south-eastern departments of France. Under lying philanthrophic and provident titles, clubs of the leaders of disorder were established in every town—in nearly every village. Workmen who were invited to join a mutual benefit society were secured as sworn members and agents of a revolutionary club, and committed to a general rising for murder and pillage, of which the Central Democratic European Committee, safely housed in London, was to give the signal. The watchword of the conspiracy was Abstention. Every Social Democrat was bound to prolong the crisis and to deepen the general distress, by impeding every effort at an arrangement or agreement between the President and the Assembly. It was out of chaos, and through slaughter and pillage, that the Red Republic was to issue in the spring of 1852.

We shall see that the Monarchists were not ashamed to make divers attempts at a mutual beneficial arrangement even with the promoters of anarchy; albeit these had given the country a taste of their quality by many acts of criminal and cruel violence during the autumn. In the Departments of the Ardèche, the Cher, the Nièvre, and along the valley of the Loire gangs of armed clubbists spread terror, and were guilty of atrocious acts, their enemies being any persons who were armed with legitimate authority. Pillage and massacre were to destroy the middle class, bring about the abolition of taxes, give the land to the people, and leave every citizen free to cut his own fire-wood where he listed—in the spring of 1852, under cover of political anarchy in Paris. The occasional assassination of a few gendarmes, and the gutting of a farm-house, showed the wavering that the clubs were in earnest.

At an agricultural meeting at Châtillon M. Dupin said, in September: 'Most assuredly, gentlemen, we must not deceive ourselves as to the actual position of affairs. There is nothing satisfactory in it. There is distress everywhere. Commerce languishes. Uneasiness, the result of uncertainty, is in all men's minds, and fills their imaginations.'

A few days before the meeting of the Assembly it was necessary to place the Departments of the Cher and Nièvre in a state of siege. It had become imperative, in consequence of the activity of the European Socialist Committee sitting in London, and a German auxiliary committee, who were organising insurrection in Paris in 1852, to enforce the old law compelling foreigners to have a *permis de séjour*, and to arrest a number of secret club leaders. The exasperated shopkeepers, who were idle behind their counters, watched with relief the vigour of the police, the numerous prosecutions, and condemnations of the revolutionary press.

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The reactionary Committee of Permanence appointed by the Assembly to watch the movements of the President and the Executive passed the recess in receiving reports on the provincial insurrections, in listening to every rumour of a *coup d'état* which rose upon the general agitation, and in discussing the speeches and progresses of the Chief Magistrate. The appearance of De Saint-Arnaud and De Maupas in the new Ministry (only three of whom were members of the Assembly) gave rise to angry discussions. The retirement of the Prefect of Police, Carlier, whom General Changarnier believed to be secretly devoted to him, was a blow to the Burgraves; and the substitution of a functionary whom Ledru-Rollin had recently had occasion to reprimand,[1] and of whose character nothing was known, was discussed as a most ominous appointment. The probability is that M. de Maupas owed his elevation to the fact that he was the son-in-law of Colonel Vaudrey, and that the Colonel, whose loyalty to Prince Louis was beyond question, answered for his devotion to the Élysée. The retirement of M. Carlier was a relief to the friends of the Prince, since it was evident that this astute officer was bent on being with the winning side at all hazards. He was ready to carry the President to Vincennes in a *panier à salade*, or General Changarnier to Mazas in a gig.

On October 27 General Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, in a stirring order to the army, said: '*Esprit de corps*, worship of the flag, solidarity of glory—let these noble traditions inspire and sustain us. Let us carry military honour so high that, in the midst of the elements of dissolution which are fermenting around us, it may appear as the means of safety to society in peril.' In a circular addressed on the 28th to the generals commanding territorial divisions

[1] See *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot*, vol. iv.

he remarked: 'Responsibility is not divisible. It lies exclusively with the chief from whom an order emanates. It shields all ranks who obey and execute.' M. de Maupas, from his Prefecture of Police, addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, in which he assured them that the peace of the capital was secured by a firm Administration, under the eyes of the Chief of the State and of his immutable policy of order.

The Monarchical factions watched and read, with growing fear and anger. They had thrown away the last hope of reconciliation between the Assembly and the Executive when they had finally made it impossible for M. Odilon Barrot to form a Ministry; and now, with divided ranks, they had to seek opportunities of defeating the President in open warfare. The army and the people were behind the Élysée—they could perceive this through the reviews of Satory and the provincial progresses of the President—and they had only too good reasons to fear that, at the opening of the session, the Government, baulked in its endeavours after a methodical revision of the Constitution, would carry the Left to its side by a proposal to return to universal suffrage. The President had been led, against his will, to adopt the Law of May 31 as a temporary expedient to check the advances of Socialism; but he had always regretted his compliance, and had looked forward to the restoration of universal suffrage as amends due to the people.

At the meeting of the Assembly on November 4, the President, in an exhaustive message, laid bare the troubled condition of the public mind, the general want of work, the increasing misery among the humble orders, the fear of capitalists to embark in any enterprise, and at the same time the growing boldness, as well as the detestable machinations, of the Socialists. In a country thus harassed, the State powers were growing weaker daily

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as they approached the period of their renewal. It became the duty then of the Government not only to protect society, but to seek out the likeliest means of warding off the dangers which threatened it in the future.

The President referred to the warm and pressing appeal he had made to the Assembly to meet him in a conciliatory spirit in his message of the previous year (November 14, 1850). The vexed questions remained as they were, and his duty was unaltered. He was bound to maintain order inflexibly; to stifle any cause of agitation, so that the resolutions on which the fate of the country depended might be discussed with calmness and carried with order. He then asked, when universal suffrage had reconstituted the social fabric by substituting a right for a revolutionary fact, was it wise to continue to restrict the representative basis? Would it not compromise, in their origin, the new powers that were to preside over the destinies of the country, by bringing their legitimacy in question? In the present delirium of party passions, confusion of doctrines, and divisions of political men, could the only principle which Providence maintained intact in the midst of the general chaos be left shattered, or incomplete? In the mind of the President there remained no doubt on the subject; and he proposed to the Assembly to reduce the elector's residential qualifications from three years, as it stood in the Law of May 31, to six months —a reduction which, while it would confer the suffrage on all orderly citizens, would still eliminate the impure elements from the national constituency. The experience of eighteen months had demonstrated that the Law of May 31 went too far, since it disfranchised 3,000,000 Frenchmen.

The part of the message in which the President pointed out the way in which the restricted suffrage altered the intentions of the Constitution was received with ironical

cheers and laughter, especially by the Left. Yet the Prince's view of the subject was clear to demonstration. According to the Constitution, when none of the candidates for the Presidency obtained over 2,000,000 votes, the right of election passed to the Assembly. But the Constitution had conferred the franchise on 10,000,000 men; whereas the Law of May had reduced the number by 3,000,000. To obtain 2,000,000 votes in a constituency of 10,000,000 was to represent a fifth of the national voters; but under the Law of May the successful candidate must obtain nearly one-third of the total number of electors. Again, the restoration of universal suffrage would destroy all serious opposition to a revision of the Constitution, and bring about that reform demanded by a majority of the arrondissement councils, by nearly all the councils-general, and by 2,000,000 petitioners.

In conclusion, the President remarked that he held it to be his duty to propose every possible means of conciliation, to bring about a regular, legal, and pacific solution of the difficulties which were before the country—whatever its consequences might be. He did not pretend to say that universal suffrage alone would suffice. But to each day its task. To deprive civil war of its flag, and to give France the opportunity of establishing institutions which would secure her repose, was the work that should engross the great powers of the State. Much of this was but a repetition of the appeals to conciliation which the President had addressed to the Assembly on October 31, 1849, and November 14, 1850. His last prayer was received with marks of open hostility. It was to the Parliamentary factions a declaration of war.

M. Odilon Barrot, who had said at the close of the session, on the vote which rejected the revision of the Constitution, that France would be forced into one of two alternatives—the regular Parliamentary revision of the

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Constitution or a Parliamentary or Presidential *coup d'état* —was exasperated at the Prince's propositions, which almost annihilated the chances at any rate of a successful *coup d'état* by the Assembly. He perceived that the President understood the tactics of his enemies, and was not inclined to be the victim of them in his own person, nor to allow the Orleanists or the Legitimists to raise standards of civil war, nor General Changarnier to play the part of Monk.

'War between the powers,'[1] Odilon Barrot remarks, 'had become more and more impossible.' An impeachment, based on the Satory reviews, would have been supported by all the partisans of the openly-menaced Republic. But an impeachment on the withdrawal of the Law of May 31 would have been understood and supported only by the small group of ardent Conservatives, who had adopted as a war-cry, The maintenance at all costs of the Law of May 31. Reason and necessity, therefore, indicated the only safe path left. The actual danger lay in the threat of a *coup d'état*, of which Louis Napoleon's bold manœuvre was clearly the signal. The danger could be averted only by the cohesion of the two great fractions of the Assembly which were equally menaced. The time had come to acknowledge that they had followed the wrong road, and to retrace their steps. The old leaders of the majority should have leaned towards the section of the Left, which was not entirely blinded by fanaticism, and which was represented by the Generals Cavaignac and de Lamoricière, and Colonel Charras.

'Down to that time,' M. Barrot said, 'we had been doing the business of Louis Napoleon, and by our desperate fights had been clearing the way for his ambition.' His warning to the majority was to this effect:—

[1] *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot*, tome quatrième, p. 162.

'The President is making ready to strike the decisive blow; let us forget our past quarrels, and save, if there be still time, both the Republic and our constitutional liberty. Right or wrong, the country believes that its salvation lies in the revision of the Constitution. Well, let us yield to this movement of public opinion, and let us all reunite to vote this revision. Afterwards we will recruit all our efforts to encompass this Presidential power, which has been so much abused, with such guarantees that the same dangers that now threaten the Republic and liberty could not recur under the new Constitution; and since we have allowed ourselves to be overtaken by Louis Napoleon in regard to the Law of May 31, let us defeat his manœuvre, let us reject his project. But at the same time let us substitute for it another which will give satisfaction to the Conservatives and the rational Republicans at the same time. Let us reduce the residential qualification to one year. In this way Louis Napoleon's own design will be turned against himself. He reckoned on our divisions: he will find us united against his ambitious projects. He hoped to make important capital out of the rejection of the revision and the re-enactment of universal suffrage. We will deprive him of this double advantage. In any case we will save the present and prepare a better future.'

But the Conservatives would not listen to M. Odilon Barrot. He admits that they continued to be blinded by passion. Instead of endeavouring to appease the irritation of the Left, they exasperated it by attacking the self-esteem and the personal dignity of its prominent members. When some of these complained in the Assembly that they had been tracked and molested by the police, the Monarchists shouted that the police had served them as they deserved, and refused to give effect to their complaints. But when the danger became imminent

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the Burgraves did not disdain to closet themselves with the Pascal Duprats and Grévys, and to discuss the possibility of a transaction that would carry the President to Vincennes. They were prudent when it was too late.

The debate on the President's message was a stormy one. He brought to light at once the fierce anger and the impotency of the factions which were hostile to the Assembly. These could not reach a common ground of action because they could not agree upon the destination of the spoils of victory. The Orleans princes were confidently watching their opportunity from Claremont, and their princesses had even fixed on the date of their triumphant arrival in Paris; the Count of Chambord was relying on Berryer and Changarnier, and M. Ledru-Rollin and his familiars were peering through the smoke of Soho for the signal of a bloody revolution through which they would wade to power.

M. Berryer, interrupted by the sneers of the Left, proposed to appoint a commission to examine the Ministers on the real condition of affairs. But the traveller just returned from Frohsdorf was laughed at as the champion of the Republican Constitution, and his proposition dropped for lack of a seconder. M. Michel (de Bourges) accepted the project of the Government on the part of the Left as a restitution to the people of a right which had been improperly taken from them. He said to the Monarchists: 'Louis Napoleon, who may have committed errors in his youth, but who in his ripe manhood made honourable amends for them in his speech at Ham, was applauded by you, and you believed him to be sincere, when he proclaimed the respect due to law. But to-day, when he says to the people, "I had the misfortune to take a right from you—I now return it," you do not believe him.' The Left preferred the triumph

of the Élysée to that of the Parliament with the Monarchists. CHAP. XIV.

The President's proposition was rejected by a majority of two. Two Deputies stood between the country and universal suffrage. This was in effect a victory for the Élysée; for it put the supporters of the Law of May 31 in the position of obstinate and irrational opponents of the will of the nation. M. Barrot reproaches the servants of Claremont and of Frohsdorf with having blundered hopelessly. He endeavoured to remedy the error of his friends by bringing forward the reform of the municipal electoral law, as arranged by the commission over which he had presided. The idea was, as we have before remarked, that, this law carried, the political suffrage could be easily assimilated to it, and the Law of May 31 be thus shelved. But the Left would not hear of any compromise, and, after a brief struggle, M. Barrot stood aside to watch the end of the inevitable battle.

He has described, by an incident, the excited state of the public mind at the opening of the session:—

'The day on which the Government project for the abrogation of the Law of May 31 was rejected, the commissary of police attached to the Assembly announced to the questors that the *coup d'état* might be attempted that night by Louis Napoleon, who, according to the commissary, was anxious to profit by the effect which the rejection of the project could not fail to have in the faubourgs. The questors gave notice to a number of the Deputies, and about forty of them passed the evening at the official residence of M. Baze, in the Palace of the Assembly. It was a false alarm, probably given designedly to the commissary, who was unlucky in his news. About two o'clock in the morning the Deputies, being satisfied that all was quiet in the barracks, went home; and on the morrow morning the papers, especially

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those well affected towards the President, were filled with jokes and sarcasms at the expense of the night-watchers.' There were other false alarms, which M. Barrot attributes to the inventive power and the cunning of the police, but for which the excited state of the public mind would account. The fears of the Conservatives covered them with ridicule; and at last, after experiencing the falsity of many danger-signals, the belief gained ground that the *coup d'état* would not be struck until after the new year; so the toy and trinket trade of the end of the year might not suffer. Meantime the army again and again manifested its Bonapartist sympathies. The colonel of the regiment of lancers that had most vociferously cried 'Vive l'Empereur!' at Satory held a 'punch' with other colonels in the military schools, and toasted the Chief of the State. Not a cry was raised for Changarnier, or De Lamoricière, or Charras, who each pretended to speak with authority for the army in the debates of the Assembly.

According to M. Barrot, a meeting of the leaders of the old majority was held at this conjuncture, to which the well-affected generals who had seats in the Assembly were summoned. The object was to learn how the army would act in the event of an open rupture between the Executive and the Assembly. General Bedeau had been told by his old African comrade General Carrelet that the army would never march against the Assembly. General Le Flô shook his head. Possibly six months ago the army would not have moved; but since that time the regiments most devoted to the President had supplanted the old troops. The regiment whose Napoleonic sympathies had been most marked was quartered at the Invalides—the nearest post to the Assembly. Le Flô had had confidential communications with many of his comrades quartered in Paris; and they had admitted that

they were placed in a very painful position, seeing that at any moment they might receive orders from the Minister of War on the one hand, and the President of the Assembly on the other. Their duty under the Constitution was clear, as they and General Le Flô knew perfectly well; for the army was distinctly placed under the orders of the Chief Magistrate, although the Assembly had a right to military force for its protection.[1] The Keeper of the Archives of the Assembly having been asked whether the Assembly had power to issue a direct order to the army, replied in the negative; and hereupon the meeting adopted a resolution to affirm this right at once, and submit it to the Assembly. M. Thiers would have preferred to raise the special guard of the Assembly to 20,000 men—a course which meant civil war—but the majority of this memorable meeting were in favour of the course which precipitated the *coup d'état.* Thus arose the famous Questors' proposition, the object of which was to place the army under the orders of the President of the Assembly, and so to put the Chief Magistrate in the power of the majority. The proposition recited that the President of the Assembly was bound to watch over its security from within and without; and for this purpose he had the right to summon the military, and all authorities whose help he might consider necessary. His requisitions might be addressed direct to any officers in command, or other functionaries; and these were bound to obey at once, under penalties set forth by law.[2] This proposition was approved and signed by M.

[1] Article 56 of the Constitution gave the Assembly right to demand military force for its protection; but Article 50 distinctly conferred the command of the army on the President.

[2] 'Le président de l'Assemblée Nationale est chargé de veiller à la sûreté intérieure et extérieure de l'Assemblée. À cet effet il a le droit de requérir la force armée et toutes les autorités dont il juge le concours nécessaire. Ses réquisitions peuvent être adressées directement à tous les

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Dupin as President of the Assembly; the President adding to it that the President should have the power to appoint the general who should command the military force he might call out.

The reading of this proposition, which was an open declaration of war against the Executive power, by fractions of the Monarchical parties in combination with a few of the lukewarm Liberals who were ready to become Orleanists if the intriguers of Claremont succeeded, was received with tumultuous shouts by the Assembly. The Mountain cried it down as contrary to the Constitution, and called for the previous question. The Conservatives, who stood firmly by the Law of May 31, rejected it as inopportune and uncalled for. M. Odilon Barrot was president of a commission that examined the Ministers as though they were culprits on their defence; and he endeavoured to prove that the Minister of War had assented to all that was contained in the Questors' propositions;[1] the fact being that De Saint-Arnaud had admitted the right of the Assembly to claim military protection through the Minister of War, and had stood throughout on his guard, knowing that he was before questioners who were plotting the overthrow of the Prince who represented the nation, while they represented only Claremont and Frohsdorf, and were ready to plunge the country into a civil war, out of which only social anarchy could come. M. Odilon Barrot was the author of the old decree of 1848; and he had an overweening fondness for

officiers, commandants et fonctionnaires, qui sont tenus d'y obtempérer immédiatement sous les peines portées par les lois.' This proposition was based on Article 6 of the decree of May 11, 1848, but which the Constituent Assembly had not ratified; hence the opinion of the Keeper of the Archives.

[1] A letter, signed by the Ministers of the Interior and of War, was published in the *Moniteur*, in which they categorically denied that they had admitted the validity of the decree of May 11, 1848.

anything he had created. He threw himself, therefore, with more warmth than discretion into the turmoil which preceded the debate on the Questors' proposition; and in his posthumous memoirs we find evidence of the extent to which his judgment was warped by his injured vanity.

He remarks that the opponents of the proposition consisted, independently of the Bonapartists, of the timid Conservatives who would not believe in an act of perjury, and who could not bring themselves to accept the responsibility of a civil war; and of all the mediocrities whose ambition Louis Napoleon had skilfully awakened by lowering Ministerial portfolios to their level. The Conservatives, who were not ready to plunge their country into civil war at the bidding of MM. Berryer, Thiers, Changarnier, and Odilon Barrot, were surely not unworthy of their country.

'Each party,' according to M. Barrot, 'did their utmost to profit by the short interval that lay between the introduction of the proposition and the debate. There was perplexity enough in men's minds to make conversions possible. The Conservatives did not fail to tell the Republicans that, after all, it was the Republic which was in jeopardy, and that it was at least strange to see the party reputed to be Monarchical defending the Republic single-handed against a coalition of the Bonapartists and Republicans. To which the men of the Left replied: "What guarantee do you give us that, the victory once achieved by our combined votes, you will not turn it against us to effect a counter-revolution?" The Conservatives answered that there could be no better guarantee than their internal divisions, which made a Monarchical restoration impossible. "It is for us to ask you for guarantees, since we are going to fight your battle—for your flag." "Ah," retorted the Republicans, breaking up the conference, "we see clearly we shall

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never understand one another. You have no faith in the people."· The agents of the Élysée, by exciting the hatred and mistrust of this party against the old Monarchical parties (who, indeed, by their imprudent course, helped the divisions), became more certain of success. As to the Legitimist party, who had engaged to vote for the proposition, they were true to their word.'

The conference which was held between delegates of the Conservatives and of the Left was of a very business-like character. The common object was the seizure of the military power, the impeachment of the Ministers, and the removal of the President of the Republic to Vincennes. But whose general was to be appointed to the command of the army? The Monarchists insisted on Changarnier, while the Republicans put forward Cavaignac. But, after an animated discussion, the Republicans put forward General Bedeau as a compromise. The Monarchical delegates hereupon retired to confer with their party; and presently they returned answer that Bedeau was unacceptable—they must insist upon Changarnier. General Bedeau was not the man to be a party to a restoration. And thus, a bargain being impracticable between the friends of Claremont and the Mountain, France was saved from a civil war. 'After a violent debate, lasting from the 15th to the 17th of November, the Questors' proposition was rejected by a majority of 408 votes against 300—M. Michel de Bourges leading the majority of the Mountain against the Monarchists, saying, 'We are not going to arm the Law of May 31.'

The leaders of the old majority were for a moment paralysed. They had confidently reckoned on a victory that would have placed the President in their power. They had elaborated several designs for the deliverance of Louis Napoleon into their hands; and all had failed.

CHAP. XIV.

'I was quietly at home breeding pigs,' General de Lamoricière wrote petulantly to a friend[1] during the recess. 'My colleagues of the commission wrote to me that they were only waiting for me to act. I hastened to them, and then they would do nothing.' On the morrow a fresh combination set them all in good humour—and for twenty-four hours they were resolute. '"Before a month is over we shall have locked him up in Vincennes," said M. Thiers to one of his college friends when they were dining at the "Frères Provençaux." His friend repeated the observation to M. Girandeau. "Have a care," the friend answered. "I think it is he who will put you there."'[2]

The attitude of the Ministers during the recent debate, and the bold front which the President showed to his enemies, exasperated the Burgraves. M. Crémieux had told them from the tribune that they feared the President because he had the people at his back and they had nobody. But the Mountain read the temper of the nation as falsely as the Monarchists. M. Crémieux in the same speech remarked that the soldiers loved the Republic, and would rise as one man against the author of any attack upon it; and he was supported by M. Michel de Bourges, who said, 'The army is with us.'

The violent scene which had immediately preceded the vote on the Questors' proposition was the significant fact about which there could be no illusion. When the Minister of War admitted that he had ordered the decree of May 11, on the requisition of troops by the Assembly, to be removed from the barrack walls, a cry for the impeachment of the Cabinet was raised. Colonel Charras rose and formally moved the impeachment. The old

[1] *Le 2 Décembre*, par Fernand Giraudeau.

[2] *Histoire du Second Empire*, par Taxile Delord.

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majority believed for a few moments that the incident would save them, by bringing the Mountain over to their side; and that before the end of the sitting M. de Saint-Arnaud and his colleagues would be on their way to prison, to be followed by the President. But the friends of the Élysée were no unskilful readers of events. M. de Morny, a polished man of the world and of fashion, a politician who had made his mark before the fall of Louis Philippe, a favourite in society, a wit, an astute man of business, and a man of action cool and courageous, had joined the council board of the Prince, and was keeping a sharp outlook. He saw, he knew, all that was intended in the event of the success of the Questors' pretensions; and he and De Saint-Arnaud and Magnan had taken measures accordingly. They had repaired to the debate resolved to act at once, should the Monarchical majority snatch a vote that would place the army in their hands, or divide the military power into two hostile camps. So that when the cry of impeachment arose the Minister of War left the Chamber, and he was followed by General Magnan and De Morny, who had arranged to watch his signal for retreat from the strangers' tribune. The troops had been confined to barracks. Magnan could put his hand upon the Army of Paris at once, on receiving an order from the Minister of War. Thus prepared, the Élysée waited confidently the close of the debate. The Mountain preferred to vote with the Government rather than to lead up to the *Dictature Blanche* with General Changarnier.

'From this moment,' M. Odilon Barrot remarks, 'the victim was completely disarmed. The blow might come at any moment. The Republic was perishing under the strokes of the men who had forced it upon France. Was this the will of Providence as a just expiation?'

'Now, gentlemen,' said Louis Napoleon to his guests,

smiling, when the news of this vote reached the Élysée, 'we may go in to dinner.'

The doom of the Assembly was sealed. Still the vanquished resolved to make a final effort to avert their fate. An old proposition on the responsibility of the President, by M. Pradié, was disinterred from the papers of the Council of State, and a commission was appointed to examine and report on it. This commission included MM. Creton and Jules Lasteyrie, the declared partisans of the recall of the Orleans princes and of the candidature of the Prince de Joinville; MM. Dufaure, Berryer, and Béchard, the energetic opponents of the Orleanists; M. Marc Dufraisse, the apologist of the execution of Louis XVI. Thus Legitimists and Orleanists, demagogues and terrorists, sate at one green table to see whether the Pradié proposition could not be so twisted as to bind the Executive Government hand and foot. They were so many conspirators, in divers interests, met to overthrow the Chief Magistrate who was the elect of the people, who had millions of voices behind him, whose popularity was on the increase, to whom France was looking for her salvation from anarchy, and whom society relied upon to save Europe from a vast Socialist revolution, the brutal watchwords of which were being whispered along the passages of the Palais Bourbon. Knowing full well that the success of their new proposition would be the signal for this revolution, these Legitimists and Orleanists persevered in their unholy alliance with the demagogues—their only excuse being that having used these in a division, they would afterwards cheat them, for the benefit of Wiesbaden or Claremont. They even went the length of accepting General Cavaignac as the future commander-in-chief. The Archbishop of Paris observed at this solemn juncture: 'Human wisdom is baffled. Society is shaken to its centre. Like a drunken

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man at the edge of a precipice, the old social order is at the point of doom.' The Monarchists heeded not the warning, but went on adding every day a fresh justification of the decisive act which was impending.

Between the rejection of the Questors' proposition and December 1 the Assembly had time to calm down, and even to take into consideration the reports of M. Odilon Barrot's Municipal Reform Commission, while waiting for the report on the Pradié proposition which was to repair the disaster of the questors. After a few days of doubt and fear the Conservatives had begun to pay little attention to the daily reports of a *coup d'état*, and even to laugh at them. 'We have at least a month before us,' said General Changarnier. 'Louis Napoleon will not raise all the petty traders of Paris against him by disturbing their new year commerce.'[1] A general supposed to be in the confidence of the Assembly boldly proclaimed December 2, the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor and of the battle of Austerlitz, as the eventful day. But the Burgraves, in alliance with the Reds, went quietly on with their Pradié proposition—inclining to the opinion of the hero of the White Dictature, that Louis Napoleon would not dare to interrupt the toy trade of Paris—until they were tapped on the shoulder by M. de Maupas's agents, and France was relieved from the constant dangers in which their selfishness and vanity had kept her for three years.

[1] *Mémoires posthumes d'Odilon Barrot.*

Napoleon Louis Bonaparte.
H. Adlard &c

BOOK VIII.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

CHAPTER I.

COUP D'ÉTAT PRELIMINARIES.

CHAP. I.

THE position of Prince Louis Napoleon had grown in strength from the day when he first took his seat in the National Assembly by the side of his friend and teacher M. Vieillard. He had conciliated many foes; he had created a vast number of trusty friends. He had compelled the respect of many prominent men of the Monarchical parties by proofs he speedily gave of a highly cultivated original mind and a firm will, and by the polish and kindliness of his address. Scores of political antagonists could not refuse him their personal sympathy. When they abused the rough and questionable elements of his *entourage*, they exempted him from the shafts of their malignity. At the first reception given by the newly-elected President of the Republic, in the empty, unkempt Élysée, Madame Salvage de Faverolles, his mother's devoted companion and friend, was almost the only lady present; and his declared partisans in the political world were not numerous. As we have seen, the Monarchists who supported his candidature for the Chief Magistracy fell away from him on the morrow of his victory, and gathered aside in factions and cliques to measure their strength with and against him for the overthrow of the Republic as a preliminary to their personal triumph. The Legitimists and Orleanists, in separate committees, entered into calculations whether Prince Louis Napoleon should be

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used as a tool or attacked as a foe. They frustrated his endeavours to form a national party out of the various elements of the Assembly. We have seen that on the morrow of his election the Prince, finding himself shunned by his friends of yesterday because they had not yet made up their minds how they could use him most advantageously, rode out in the evening to the Bois de Boulogne, and in the shadows of the wood appealed to De Lamartine, who, with all his faults, was a nobler character than any moving in the leading-strings of MM. Berryer, Thiers, and Cavaignac. There was a natural sympathy—for there was some affinity—between the two men, and the Prince could speak to the patriot poet as he never spoke to Thiers, Odilon Barrot, De Tocqueville, and the rest of the *rusés* statesmen who had been raised under the Monarchy of July. De Lamartine consulted his own conscience only, and answered the Prince in the interests of no party, but in that of France. In his 'Conseiller du Peuple' he had said of the new President: 'I am not acquainted personally with the President whom the nation has placed at the head of the Executive power. I thought of him, with my Republican prejudices and the faults of his youth (which he nobly confessed and condemned the other day before his old prison of Ham), as one to be feared by my country—frivolous, restless, ambitious, impatient to reign. I was deceived again. Time had ripened him; thought had enlightened him; adversity had transformed him.' The walls of a cell are the forcing-frames of an imprisoned spirit—they try the flowers; they hasten the fruit.' Later, when the first President of the Republic had met his successful rival, he added some warm touches to his picture.

'I have seen,' he said, 'I have read, I have listened, I have observed, I have since known the President of the

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Republic. I owe it to truth to declare that I believe I perceived in him a man on a level with the actual situation, one equal to his duties towards the nation which, in restoring him to his country, gave him the government of it; a statesman of correct and serene observation; a good heart; great common-sense; a sincerely honourable nature, a modesty which veils the glitter, but not the light. I tell you this because I believe it; I have no interest in flattering him—I have nothing more nor less to expect from him than any one of you. I have often refused in my life, and have never asked. But I believe the Republic has been fortunate, and that she has found a man where she sought only a name. The hand of Providence was in the election.'

Nor did after years alter M. de Lamartine's estimate of the Prince. Writing in 1863, in reference to his interview in the Bois de Boulogne, he remarked: 'I am far from approving the light way in which men then judged him. After a first conversation, followed by many others under grave circumstances, I recognised, in spite of my prejudices against his name, the most serious and the strongest statesman, without any exception whatever, whom I had known during my long life in the midst of public men. I spoke in this sense to all my colleagues, who, knowing my relations with him, questioned me in confidence and asked my opinion. "My opinion," I replied, "is that Providence, wiser than we, has reserved for us a man who appears to be superior to his part. Don't believe that you will be able to overreach such a man. The multitude have, by accident or by inspiration, placed their hands upon a great name for history." Most of them withdrew smiling incredulously; a few believed me. I did not flatter him. His silence, except when speech was necessary, left the mediocrities perplexed. For myself, I did not hesitate long in judging him much superior to his

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uncle, who was the first soldier but one of the smallest statesmen of his age.'[1]

The impression which the Prince made upon De Lamartine was shared by many. Men untrammelled by party ties, or who were not warped by selfish interests to which he was a barrier, were delighted to find in the bearer of a great name a commanding and admirably disciplined intellect, and generous sympathies that warmed to every enterprise which appeared to promise good to his fellow-creatures. And thus, during the three years which had elapsed since his election as President, Prince Louis Napoleon had drawn around him hosts of friends and believers in his power as a statesman able to revive the fortunes of their country, after snatching it from the hands of the Socialist demagogues who threatened to make a *tabula rasa* of it. At the end of 1851 he found himself deserted by most of the known statesmen who had by turns served him, because they had found to their cost that he was not of the soft material of which dupes are made. He could hold his own with such skilful dialecticians and schemers as the leaders of the various sections of the composite majority, which M. de Montalembert called the Parliamentary Tower of Babel. When the entire force of this majority repaired to the Élysée to implore him not to dismiss General Changarnier from his command, he listened to their appeals and to their prophesies of evil, but was not seduced by their rhetoric nor moved by their warnings, which had almost the complexion of threats. He knew his men, and the masters they were serving while they affected to be concerned for his Government. The Burgraves retired baffled and irritated; for they could not but acknowledge that they were in the presence of a power able to cope with their collective strength.

[1] *Mémoires politiques*, tome iv. p. 61.

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This dominant individuality was enfolded in a prince whose name was a tower of strength, against which the Bourbon pretenders were Liliputian knots of active life. They were so many wasp-swarms—in a vast landscape—ever ready to sting and irritate, but powerless to change or influence the main aspects of the scene. When the Prince was elected to the Presidency, it was, according to his enemies, a vast conspiracy that carried him to the Élysée; when crowds cried 'Long live Napoleon!' every voice had been bought; when the soldiers hailed the heir of the conqueror of Austerlitz, the inspiration was the effect of eleemosynary drink; when the Prince was cheered on his provincial progresses, the acclamations were the bribed enthusiasm of ignorant and deluded rustics. This organised opposition snarling was carried on without intermission from December in 1848 to December in 1851, until the Burgraves and their congeners had maligned the entire French nation (with the exception of the few scores of thousands who kept their faces turned towards Wiesbaden or Claremont) as the bought creatures of the Bonapartes. De Lamartine confessed, when first the name of Napoleon rose above the clamour of the Revolution of 1848, and M. Clément Thomas arrested five hundred men who had manifested Bonapartist sympathies in a single night, that he resolved with his colleagues to propose the maintenance of 'the ostracisim of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte,' in order to quell the 'conspiracy;' but he soon perceived that conspiracy there was none, and that the immense popularity of the name of Napoleon was all the plot.[1] Unlike the rest of the Prince's political opponents, De Lamartine had the honourable candour to say so, and to add that

[1] 'On est porté à croire que l'immense popularité du nom de Napoléon était toute la conspiration.'—*Mémoires politiques*, tome iii. p. 403.

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the mantle of the hero who was sleeping at the Invalides had fallen upon the shoulders of a great man.

Among the men of mark who, in the course of the Presidency, rallied to Prince Louis Napoleon—but only after having assured himself that Bonapartism, and not Orleanism, was in the ascendant—was the Count de Morny. First and foremost, a man of fashion and of pleasure who had flourished under the Monarchy of July, and had been a favourite in society and in the political world; who had talked politics with the King, amused himself with the princes, found favour with great ladies, and been commended for his parts by the austere Guizot, who more than once thought of offering him a Ministerial portfolio);[1] who had, as a young man, shown extraordinary aptitude for great commercial enterprises; a wit and a man of courage, a courtier and a man of business, a dandy and a sportsman—the Count de Morny was no sentimentalist. He had not an atom of romance in his composition. Amiability was part of his good manners, easily cultivated, because his nature was not a bad one, and it asserted itself often, mitigating the sometimes icy effect of his habitual cynicism. 'In spite of his indifference,' M. Émile Ollivier remarks of him,[2] 'he was capable of friendship. Like all men who have had many love affairs, he had no tenderness; in its stead he had grace, an easy wit, tact, cordiality, a seductive charm. There was no pose in his manner, no surliness, but a captivating spontaneity. He was always affable, and although very busy never appeared to be in a hurry. It was impossible to approach him without feeling attracted

[1] M. Guizot remained on excellent terms with De Morny during the Empire, having known him during Louis Philippe's reign, and looked upon him as a very promising young man. The old Minister used to say to him: 'My dear Morny, you are the only man that could upset the Empire; but you will never be foolish enough to do it.'

[2] *Le 19 Janvier.* Par Émile Ollivier. Paris, 1869.

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at first, and then moved by sympathy.' The Count had sterner and deeper qualities. 'Penetration was his dominant power, and he knew it. "When you talk with a man," he said one day, "listen to what he thinks, and not to what he says." While in most men penetration, by unmasking the many sides of things, leads to indecision, in M. de Morny it only made his resolution more absolute. He had the most exquisite common sense. He knew little beyond what experience had taught him, but he divined much, and when an authority argued with him he went straight to the core of the question. He did not avoid a place because it presented dangers. "Where is there not danger?" he used to say. He met peril with audacity, and he was right, because he could measure and direct it. He did not confound the timidity by which everything is lost with the prudence without which nothing succeeds. He did not mistake obstinacy for firmness; he would listen to the advice of men, and use the teaching of events. Without speculative moods, his resolution was swiftly followed by action. He acted by intuition, not by principle. An object once settled, he was not nice as to the means, and looked upon everything that was useful as legitimate. He was not hard, nor cruel, nor vindictive; and he was not proud of violent courses, like low minds. His life was deficient in austerity. You felt the want of moral atmosphere about him. He pretended to be only the model of an accomplished man of honour. He was insensible to the abstract right in a case, but he yielded willingly to an appeal to his generosity.'

M. de Morny had, in short, the qualities and the defects which his education in the salon of the brilliant Madame de Souza (mother of Count de Flahaut), and in the best political and military society of his early time, had given to a youth of so sharp and alert an intelligence

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that the Prince de Talleyrand, meeting him in his twelfth year, predicted that he would be one day Minister. A brilliant cavalry officer, Count de Morny distinguished himself at the siege of Constantine, and received the cross of the Legion of Honour for having saved the life of his general. He returned to France on the sick list, resigned, and threw himself with his usual resolution into farming operations. By the time he was thirty he was at the head of the beet-sugar industry of France, and Deputy. His wit, tact, penetration, and energy carried him rapidly forward amid crowds of friends. He cut through a difficulty with a mot; his opponents melted under his smile; his fine manners assured his welcome everywhere. As a Deputy he distinguished himself by his knowledge of financial matters, and the clear, far-seeing way in which he treated them. The Revolution of 1848 found him writing an essay for the 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' in which he said that communism was silently mining the foundations of Government. 'Moderate concessions,' he wrote, 'intelligent reforms, conscientious study of financial and social questions, a pious zeal in the rich in favour of the poor classes, and at the same time a courageous opposition to the factions will prevent the evils which menace us. . . . Let the sufferings of the working classes be studied with fervour: let savings banks, *crèches*, day schools, *tontines*, general workshops, councils of *prud'hommes*, be created—here is the solution of the problem.'[1]

Throughout the Presidency the Count de Morny had had a seat in the Legislative Chamber, and had followed the varying phases of the struggle between the Executive and the Monarchical parties. Once attached to the cause

[1] *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.* Par Dr. L. Véron. Tome cinquième. Paris. 1857.

of the Prince President, he became his representative and counsellor in the many divisions, transactions, and conferences which took place while the Prince was endeavouring to break up the factions and create a national party. But early in the Presidency, and before he had irrevocably committed himself to the Élysée, the Count appeared, on occasion, as the representative of Prince Louis Napoleon. He was active on January 29, 1849, when General Changarnier was ready to strike a Bonapartist *coup d'état*, and supported the honourable course of the Prince, who had then no idea save that of keeping the Republic strong and prosperous. 'Remember the strange and sombre aspect of January 29, 1849,' wrote M. A. de la Guéronnière. 'An immense army occupied every important point of Paris. A band of iron encompassed the National Parliament. The President of the Republic rode past the troops about noon, like a general on the day of battle. It was the *mise en scène* of some unknown drama. General Changarnier treated the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly very disdainfully at that time, and only waited for Cæsar to appear. But Cæsar came not. Louis Napoleon showed more conscience and prudence than ambition. It had been intimated to him a day or two previously that he had only to stretch forth his hand to take the Imperial crown from the point of a devoted sword; and he had resolutely refused the offer.'[1]

Later in the spring of the same year M. Thiers, General Changarnier, and the Count de Morny met at the Place Saint-Georges to discuss the means of getting rid of the Constituent Assembly by a *coup d'état*; and at this conference M. de Morny first delivered his opinion on the propriety of arresting political adversaries—an

[1] *Napoléon III.* Par le Vicomte Arthur de la Guéronnière.

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opinion which he was destined to put in practice upon his two fellow-conspirators of 1849. 'In troublous times, to arrest a party man is to do him service. You protect him against himself; you cover his responsibility towards his own party: you shield his person. My advice is to arrest Colonel Charras, and Generals Cavaignac and Lamoricière.' The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly put an end to this project;[1] but the action of the Legislative Assembly soon provoked others. Each party openly worked for its chief, as we have seen. Even M. Dupin, President of the National Assembly, paid his court to the Duchess of Orleans; while the Vice-President, Benoist d'Azy, did homage to the Count of Chambord. General Changarnier and M. Odilon Barrot discussed whether the former could not lay the Prince under a heavy public obligation by supporting his request for a supplementary credit to cover the onerous expenses of the Chief Magistracy. The General concluded to give the Prince this support to serve his own purposes; but, after the vote, M. Barrot saw that a great mistake had been made. 'To owe to this general,' he remarks, 'this doubtful success (the grant was carried by a very small majority), to be paraded solemnly as under his protection, was too much for the pride, and above all for the ambition, of Louis Napoleon. There are debts which oppress, and which, far from awakening gratitude, create a desire to be free. The debt which General Changarnier had just imposed on Louis Napoleon was of this nature. The General and I had grossly deceived ourselves. That which it had appeared to us must bind together the General and Louis Napoleon, the President of the Republic and the Parliament, was, on

[1] Both General Changarnier and M. Thiers have denied their participation in this plot; but the evidence of their privity to it given by Dr. L. Véron is overwhelming.

the contrary, the first signal of their divisions, and it was easy to see that the conflict would soon break out.'

M. Odilon Barrot has not left the course adopted by General Changarnier open to any doubt. He gives a striking picture of the uncompromising and audacious enemies with whom the President of the Republic had to deal, and of the lengths to which General Changarnier was prepared to go:—

'I happened to be at Mortfontaine, when M. de Pontalba, one of General Changarnier's aides-de-camp, brought me a letter from that general, in which I was implored to repair immediately to Paris. "The aspect of affairs has become very serious," he wrote, "and your presence here is absolutely necessary." I imagined the crisis to be imminent, and did not hesitate: the chaise which had brought M. de Pontalba took us back to Paris, where we arrived towards midnight. The General had just retired to bed, and was sleeping, which fact reassured me somewhat as regards the urgency of events. I repaired early next morning to Changarnier, who explained the situation to me.

'"As from one moment to another a new move may be made," he said, "I have ventured to draw you from your retreat. The question is, which of us two, Louis Napoleon or myself, will take the initiative." "But," I said, "can you rely upon the support of the Prefect of Police?" "Oh, I am sure of Carlier [the Prefect]; he is thoroughly with me." Upon my asking him bluntly whether he were in a position to arrest the President, he said that, whenever he received any order to do so, *he would put him in a* PANIER À SALADE, *and drive him to Vincennes without more ado.* As I exclaimed, and observed that no doubt Carlier had made all haste to go and report their conversation to Louis Napoleon, and perhaps to offer to do the same thing for him, as regards the General, Valazé, the

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aide-de-camp of the latter, said: "*So much the better: we are very glad that it should be known at the Élysée what we can do.*" Astonished at such assurance, I endeavoured to sound Changarnier as to his ulterior designs; but he was impenetrable: perhaps he had not then any decided plan. When once he had set aside Louis Napoleon, to whom would he remit the reins of government? Of which branch of the Monarchy would he be the Monk? Placed as he was between the Orleanists and the Legitimists, who urged him to declare himself, he gave hopes to each party, without binding himself to either. I imagine that the position of supreme arbiter of the destinies of France was not unpleasant to him, and that he was in no haste to give it up. However, I observed to him that the stress was so great that the crisis could not last long. "What are you waiting for?" I said.

'"For a signature of Dupin," he replied. "Ah, how young you are, General," said I; "you don't yet know that man! You will have that signature for which you are waiting, with a hundred others, when you have succeeded: but before then, and while you are yet in uncertainty, hope for nothing from his name."

'I was not mistaken. I went from Changarnier's headquarters to the offices of the Commission de Surveillance, which I found sitting. The hesitation and alarm there was as great as the General's affected confidence.'

The foregoing more than justifies the dismissal of General Changarnier by the President.

Rumours of a *coup d'état* were more rife than ever immediately after the prorogation of the Assembly in 1851; and not without reason. General Magnan had just succeeded General Baraguay d'Hilliers in the command of the Army of Paris. De Saint-Arnaud and Magnan had the military power, therefore, completely under their control. The partisans of the President urged him to act at once;

and the Prefect of Police, Carlier, in the heat of his zeal, actually drew up a wild project of a *coup d'état* to be immediately carried out. Among other extravagant propositions 400 persons were to be arrested and transported; the great schools were to be withdrawn from the capital, and the Polytechnic School and the Ministry of Public Instruction were to be suppressed. The project was made known to the President early in September; and, according to Dr. Véron, he at once summoned MM. de Morny, de Persigny, Rouher, and Carlier to St. Cloud to examine it. The Carlier *coup d'état* was discussed after dinner. 'The opinion which prevailed,' Dr. Véron remarks, 'was this:—The presence of the Deputies in the provinces was to be feared, lest their influence should raise a serious resistance throughout the country. Civil war might break out in various places. Before this danger the most impatient and resolute of the party hesitated. The general opinion was that the better plan was to confront and confound the Chamber when it was sitting. The President of the Republic objected above all to any arrests. His desire was that nobody should be imprisoned, maintaining that it would suffice to make an appeal *pur et simple* to the nation. M. de Morny replied that you were relieved from discussion with persons in prison, and that arrests carried out with discernment might prevent the horrors of a civil war.' The Prince finally rejected M. Carlier's plan, having resolved to make a final appeal to the Assembly; and in this he was supported by De Saint-Arnaud and Magnan.

The hesitation of at least one of these generals was the consequence of doubt as to the extent of the President's popularity. De Saint-Arnaud, who had reached Paris full of enthusiasm for the Prince's cause, cooled down apace. This was remarked particularly by his friend Fleury. Madame de Saint-Arnaud had been residing at Bordeaux

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in the midst of an anti-Bonapartist *bourgeois* society. When she joined her husband in Paris, and learned the nature of the great act to which he was committed, she was filled with alarm; and she so far succeeded in impressing him with the feebleness of the Prince's hold on the public, and consequently with the risk that he was running, that he peremptorily told Fleury he was not prepared to go forward. This hesitation created, for a short time, grave apprehensions at the Élysée; since it was probable that if De Saint-Arnaud finally declined to act with the President, he would operate against him and betray him. The danger, however, quickly disappeared. Madame de Saint-Arnaud was soon launched into Paris society, and naturally into that section of it favourable to the Élysée; and with the evaporation of her fears, raised in a place where the President was notoriously unpopular among the *bourgeoisie*, her husband's confidence returned, and never again deserted him.

Before making a final effort to effect a reconciliation with the Assembly, the President deputed the Count de Morny, in the course of the autumn, to confer with MM. Molé, de Broglie, Berryer, and other important Deputies, and ascertain their views in regard to the revision of the Constitution and the prolongation of the President's powers. It was clear, as we have shown, that only by the revision of the Constitution and the prolongation of the powers of Prince Louis Napoleon, to whom the nation was looking for deliverance from anarchy, could a catastrophe be avoided. M. de Morny was admirably fitted for this embassy. He was personally on good terms with all parties, save the Reds; and, to use his own observation, he could see as well as hear the replies he obtained. He remarked to the Burgraves: 'We can do all that is required with you, without you, in spite of you.' But he could obtain no satisfactory guarantees

that the President would be loyally supported. Each leader held to his pretender, and saw brighter hope for him through the blood and turmoil of a Red revolution than in the peaceful readjustment of the Constitution of MM. Marrast and Co.

Between the 6th and 12th of November several meetings were held in the rooms of the Count Daru, a vice-president of the Assembly, at which the Count de Montalembert was present. It was proposed to declare the President eligible for re-election, to divide the legislative power into two Chambers, that the Legislative Assembly should vote the constitution of the two Chambers and frame a new electoral law, and that these constitutional changes should be ratified by the nation, voting under universal suffrage. This project was to be brought before the Assembly backed by about eighty Deputies; but it fell through in the excitement caused by the Questors' proposition—and the Burgraves and Prince Louis Napoleon at length stood face to face.

On November 24 an article appeared in the 'Constitutionnel,' under the title of 'The Two Dictatorships,' in which the situation was plainly described, and the conspiracy of the Parliamentary chiefs laid bare. 'This flagrant and incessant conspiracy against the President of the Republic,' the writer remarked, 'is the work of Parliamentarians, armed leaders of the Legitimist and Orleanist parties; profoundly divided among themselves, but united in a common hatred of the elect of December 10. It has been organised for the last eighteen months; and at the time when a notable general[1] occupied the Tuileries, meetings of influential political men were held in his rooms, at which the arrest of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his incarceration at Vincennes were

[1] Changarnier.

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discussed. There remains no doubt on this subject. An ex-Minister of Louis Philippe, who was present at these meetings, warned the President of the Republic of the plot that was being hatched against him. . . . Although drawn up and directed by old Ministers and Parliamentary veterans, this conspiracy exceeds in absurdity all those recorded in the books of Saint-Réal and Vertot. The object of the conspirators is to create a dictatorship, with the support of the present Assembly, the powers of which must be prolonged indefinitely. It would declare itself a convention. The dictator is known to everybody: it is General Changarnier.' The author went on to say that this would be to substitute the elect of a score of conspirators for the nominee of six millions of men; a general of little service and no reputation for the nephew of the Emperor; a period of disorder and rival dynastic conspiracies for a regular power, which maintained order, and was based on the will of the nation.

Of Prince Louis Napoleon, calm observer of the storm which was gathering over his head, Dr. L. Véron, who saw him daily when the *coup d'état* was imminent, has remarked: 'From December 10, 1848, to the eve of December 2, 1851, in most difficult times, and under the gravest complications, I have had the honour of being received often by the President of the Republic. I have never seen him surprised, irritated, or discouraged. With an unalterable serenity in presence of successive events, with a gentleness full of dignity towards men, his spirit, already so severely tried by misfortune, become master of itself in the solitude of exile, meets nothing that can frighten or take it unawares. He has faith in himself and in the future of France. In the midst of the political scepticism provoked and kept alive since the close of the last century by so many revolutions Prince Louis Napoleon has nursed at the bottom of his heart the sacred

flame of young and ardent convictions. It is by this that he dominates the men in whom interest paralyses every elevated and generous aspiration.

'I have closely studied the serious and melancholy face, the words, the bearing, of Prince Louis Napoleon. You must not expect to find in him the mobility or the fantastic forms of the French character. His elevated intellect does not spend itself in ingenious and subtle thoughts: it grapples only with powerful ideas, that offer fruitful practical deductions. It is thus, we find, in speeches which have been admired and cheered, language at once elevated, simple, firm, and void of ornament, clothing great ideas. On the morning of December 2, 1851, one of Prince Louis Napoleon's enemies asked me anxiously: "Is this the end of a mediocre man or the beginning of a man of genius?"'

The politicians who knew nothing personally of the Prince believed that the end had come; his friends knew that he was beginning.

These had watched the Prince throughout the conflict with the factions of the Assembly down to the memorable November 18, when the vote on the proposition of the questors took place. They had been able to contrast his attitude with that of Changarnier and his friends, and to see that the cause of order was safe in his hands.

It is certain that, had the questors carried their proposition, the *coup d'état* would have followed within an hour. The Prince, with his secretary, M. Mocquard, remained throughout the day at the Élysée in uniform, ready to mount his horse.

Two regiments devoted to the Prince were kept in their barracks ready to march upon the Assembly in company with National Guards who had offered themselves for this service. When the Minister of War, General Magnan, and MM. de Morny and Edgard Ney

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left the Assembly, the belief was general that the proposition would be carried. M. Changarnier, radiant with hope, was rallying voters from every corner of the Chamber. De Morny warned the Prince, who waited calm and patient and determined until the vote had been taken. He gave all the necessary orders for immediate action in case the vote should be adverse; and when, at eight o'clock in the evening, M. Rouher arrived and announced that the questors had been beaten by a majority of more than one hundred, he remarked quietly that perhaps it was for the best; and, as we have already recorded, invited his guests to sit down to dinner.

When the scattered factions of the Chamber rallied from the consternation of the 18th to the Pradié proposition, the scarcely veiled object of which was to arrest the President of the Republic and his Ministers, the Prince drew his friends closer about him, and at the same time let his enemies know that he understood his position, his power, and his duties as the elect of the nation. On November 25, when distributing the prizes awarded to the French exhibitors at the Great Exhibition of 1851, he boldly took up his position of defender of public order against the conspiracies of the Parliamentary factions of the Socialist clubs.

'Before separating, gentlemen,' he said, 'let me encourage you to undertake new works. Enter upon your labours without hesitation: they will prevent a slack trade this winter. Have no fear of the future. The public peace shall be preserved, let what may happen. A Government that rests upon the entire nation, which is actuated only by the public good, and which is inspired with that ardent faith that guides men safely where no paths are traced—this Government, I say, will know how to fulfil its mission. It has within it the right which proceeds from the people and the strength which comes from God.'

By this time the Prince had come to the conclusion that a *coup d'état* could no longer be delayed. Not only had he authentic information of the action against himself which was to follow immediately upon the passing of the Pradié proposition, but his agents abroad had warned him that the Orleans princes were moving, that the success of the Assembly would be the signal of an Orleanist *pronunciamiento*, and that Joinville and D'Aumale were to be near the frontier in a few days to act upon the officers and regiments in northern garrisons who were believed to be in favour of their House.

In a memorandum of certain circumstances connected with the *coup d'état* Lord Palmerston has put the complicity of the Orleans princes in the designs of their agents in the Assembly beyond a doubt. He remarks:—

'The *coup d'état* took place on Tuesday, December 2, 1851, and was known in London by the next day. On Wednesday, the 3rd, Mr. and Mrs —— dined with us in Carlton Gardens, and told me that they had been down to Claremont on the preceding Friday to visit Queen Amélie; that they found the ladies of the French Court in a great bustle; and that they told Mrs. —— as a great secret that they were making up their *paquets*, as they expected to have to go to Paris at the end of the then next week—that is to say, at the end of the week in which the *coup d'état* took place.

'On the Sunday following—that is to say, on December 7—Mr. Borthwick, editor of the "Morning Post," came to me. He said he had a communication to make to me, which it might be important for me to receive, and which he considered himself at liberty to make. He said that the day before—that is, on Saturday, the 6th—General de Rumigny, attached to the French Court, had come to him, and said that as he (Mr. Borthwick) had been civil and attentive to the ex-Royal Family, he (General de

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Rumigny) had been desired to say to him that, if it would be useful to his paper, he should have daily accounts of the military operations that were about to commence in the north of France; that the Prince de Joinville and the Duc d'Aumale were gone to Lille to take the command of troops to act against the President; that the Royal Family had endeavoured to dissuade the Prince de Joinville from this step, but in vain; and that, finding him determined on doing so, the Duc d'Aumale had said: "My brother is a sailor; he knows nothing of military operations. I am a soldier; I will go with him and share his fate and fortune." Mr. Borthwick said he had declined the offered communications, as he did not wish his paper to be considered the organ of the Orleans family; and as the communication had not been made to him under the condition of secresy, he came at once to tell me of it.

'I immediately wrote to Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, to ask him to make enquiry, through the detachment of police stationed at Claremont for the protection of the ex-Royal Family, to know whether all the French princes were there—that is to say, those who were in England. I said that General de Rumigny or Borthwick must have made a mistake in naming D'Aumale, because he was then at Naples, and it must be the Duc de Nemours who had gone with Joinville.

'In the course of the afternoon I received from Sir G. Grey a report that both Nemours and Joinville were still at Claremont. That Joinville had been several times in London in the course of this week, and was that day at Claremont. That Joinville had been very ill for several days, and had been confined to his room, and nobody had seen him but his medical attendant, who visited him twice a day. This report at once showed that Joinville was off, as I afterwards heard was the case. He went as

far as Ostend, but found that the attempt would not succeed, and he came back again. I believe that the garrison of Lille had been changed. This confirmed the story as to Joinville, but left unexplained the statement as to D'Aumale. But some days afterwards I received a letter from my brother, Minister at Naples, written before the news of the *coup d'état* had reached Naples, saying that the Duc and Duchesse d'Aumale had received alarming accounts of the health of the ex-Queen of France, and that in consequence thereof the Duke had suddenly set off for England. That two days afterwards the Duchesse d'Aumale had received better accounts, and she regretted that her husband had not waited a day or two, as he would then have been spared a fatiguing journey in the depth of winter.

'This statement confirmed the whole of General de Rumigny's story, for D'Aumale had evidently, by preconcerted arrangements, left Naples to meet Joinville on a a given day at a given place; and this proved that there had been a plot long proposed for an attack upon the President.

'About a fortnight or three weeks afterwards Count Lavradis, the Portuguese Minister in London, went to Claremont to visit the Princesse de Joinville, who is a Brazilian, and he said he found her *tout éplorée* at the turn of affairs in France, and that she said it was most afflicting. "Et pour moi, qui devait être à Paris le 20!"

'All this clearly proves that if the President had not struck when he did, he himself would have been knocked over.'[1]

This note may be taken as an authentic justification of the *coup d'état* written by an impartial statesman six years after the event.

[1] *The Life of Viscount Palmerston.* By the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

CHAPTER II.

DECEMBER 1, 1851.

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On December 1 the authors and supporters of the Pradié proposition were cheerful in the belief that, whereas the President had adjourned all action against the Assembly over the holidays, they were on the eve of an event that would enable them to carry out Changarnier's old proposal, and drive the Chief Magistrate to Vincennes in a *panier à salade*. The princesses were packing at Claremont; the Prince of Joinville, giving out that he was confined to his room, had crossed the Channel to meet his brother D'Aumale and take the head of troops believed to be well affected towards them at Lille;[1] and all Soho was agog for an exodus *en masse* to support the Red Republic and inaugurate an European Socialist Revolution.

At the Élysée the current of life was as quiet as on ordinary days. The President was closeted in the morning (as usual) with his secretary, M. Mocquard; he gave interviews to his Ministers, received friends, attended to their requests, and gossiped with them. The Hon. Mrs. Norton happened to be in Paris, on her way south to see her sick son. She had a protégée who wanted facilities for some researches at the National Library. She had met Prince Louis often in London society, and claimed his good offices for her friend. The Prince took some trouble for her on this eventful morning, and

[1] *The Life of Viscount Palmerston.* By the Hon. Evelyn Ashley.

wrote her a charming note, telling her he was always at her service. The Count de Morny was about in society as usual—at the Jockey Club, in the Bois, and elsewhere. The President had a dinner in the evening, and his ordinary Monday reception to follow. The Ministers were dining with M. Daviel, Keeper of the Seals. About six in the evening the Minister of Public Works called on his colleague De Saint-Arnaud, to accompany him to the dinner. 'You take matters easily,' said the Minister to the General. 'You were not in the Assembly to-day. Do you know that you are to be severely called to order to-morrow?'

'Well,' said Saint-Arnaud, laughing, 'I have my answer quite ready.'

In the morning a friend had asked M. de Morny at the Jockey Club for two tickets for the sitting of the morrow. M. de Morny gave them, saying: 'If you find any difficulty in getting in, send to me.'

In the evening at the Opéra Comique, when the Count was sauntering from box to box, Madame Liadières said to him playfully: 'It is reported that they are going to sweep out the Chamber. What shall you do, M. de Morny?' 'Well, madame, I shall try to be with the broom.'

That the Prince was in high spirits was natural. He had come to a final resolution after many months of intense anxiety and of continued deceptions. He had finally parted from the Burgraves. He had done with the duplicity of M. Thiers, the ridiculous egotism of Léon Faucher, the airs and graces of Odilon Barrot, who thought himself as much the man of the situation as General Changarnier; with the Dufaures, De Tocquevilles, and De Rémusats—all enemies who had worn, from time to time, the masks of friends. To a nature like that of the Prince it must have been a mighty relief to withdraw himself within the lines of his troops of partisans, and to

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have to consult only those on whom he could rely with entire confidence. The Clarys, the Vaudreys, the Bacciocchis, the Mocquards, the Flahauts, the Conneaus, the Fleurys, and the Persignys were at any rate trusty friends who had clung to him in the dark days of his life. His three years of power, while they had made him acquainted with the *rusés*, self-seeking statesmen of the Monarchy of July, had drawn to him hosts of hearty sympathisers out of the millions who called him to the Chief Magistracy; so that when he had resolved to have done with the Assembly, and to throw himself on the country, he felt the nation warming to him through them, while his spirit was no longer chafed by contact with the factions which had harassed every step of his progress heretofore.

The meanness of some of the Orleanist statesmen who endeavoured to harm the character of the President is nowhere more glaringly and unblushingly proclaimed than we find it in many passages of the 'Mémoires' of Odilon Barrot. One passage in particular discovers a breach of confidence as well as a base motive. The President, at the time of his arrival in France, lived conjugally with a lady, who afterwards became Countess de Beauregard. She was the mother of children by him, and, this fault apart, she lived a quiet and refined life. During one of the Prince's provincial tours this lady was lodged, as M. Barrot is compelled to admit, by mistake, in the house of a gentleman who was absent with his family, and who afterwards complained of the circumstance. Whereupon M. Barrot—then Minister—wrote to his brother Ferdinand, who was Secretary-General to the Presidency, asking him to submit the complaint to the Prince, as a warning to him. The Prince's letter to M. Barrot, in reply, shows how he had yearned, through his troubled life, for domestic affections; and how he felt the loneliness of his position when he returned to France.

He said: 'I confess I have sought in an illegitimate connexion the affection which my heart desires. Inasmuch as my position has hitherto prevented me from marrying; and as, in the midst of the cares of Government, I have, alas! in my country, from which I have been so long separated, neither intimate friends nor ties of infancy, nor relatives who offer me domestic intercourse—I think I may be forgiven an attachment which does harm to nobody, and which I am careful not to obtrude.'[1] M. Odilon Barrot enlarges on this incident, and prints the Prince's letter, after many years, with the undisguised intention of lowering the character of the sovereign who had often reposed confidence in his honour. He misses his aim; for he brings out the chivalrous character and the sympathetic heart of the Prince.

M. Odilon Barrot, while making mighty professions of patriotism and unselfishness throughout his account of his relations with the Prince President, unmasks himself as among the President's unrelenting enemies, and making common cause with them against him. When the Prince sent for him after the resignation of the Ministry on the Changarnier dismissal debate, he showed his continued desire to act in good faith with the leaders of the majority; while M. Barrot, in his account of the negociation, lays bare his own vanity and double-dealing. At the same time he cannot help admitting that the Assembly was hopelessly disorganised, and that M. Thiers, in his famous declaration that the Empire was made, was not to be trusted. M. Barrot even asserts that Prince Louis and Changarnier parted when the latter refused the bâton of a marshal, and the rank of Grand Constable of France, to help the President to the Empire. The absurdity of this outburst of animosity must be apparent to all who

[1] *Mémoires d'Odilon Barrot*, tome troisième, p. 363.

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are in the least degree familiar with the character of Changarnier, or of his general conduct while Prince Louis was President. Had the General held such a weapon in his hands, he would have used it. The fact—and the notorious fact—was, that Changarnier had offered to help the Prince to empire, and had been repulsed, as we have shown. But this is not all. Barrot was among the leaders of the majority who waited on the President to press him not to dismiss Changarnier from his command, although he, like the rest of the deputation of double-dealers, knew that the General was plotting against the Prince in favour of the Monarchists. M. Barrot charges De Lamartine with being, after the elevation of Prince Louis to the Presidency, only the representative of his own vanity De Lamartine was a man of loftier and purer spirit than Barrot. When the Prince, on his elevation, pressed De Lamartine to form a Ministry, the poet declined until Barrot should have refused; believing that the eminent advocate would be the more useful of the two to their country. At the same time De Lamartine was ready to throw himself into the breach, should the Prince not be able to come to terms with the Barrots, De Tocquevilles, and Dufaures. Barrot was incapable either of this self-denial or this self-sacrifice. Although these episodes of the Presidency chafed the kindly and sympathetic spirit of Prince Louis, they never kindled his wrath, nor moved him to revenge. M. Barrot is constrained to admit that throughout his intercourse with the Prince he never saw him worked into a passion more than once, and this was when the Ministry of which Barrot was president declined to read his explanation of his letter to Edgard Ney on the Roman question to the Assembly. At the close of his four volumes of 'Mémoires,' when he explains his assumption of an official position as president of the famous Committee of

Decentralisation, appointed under the Ollivier Administration, he describes the cordiality with which the sovereign from whom he had been parted for eighteen years received him. CHAP. II.

To be clear, then, of the Burgraves and their machinations must have been a relief to the Prince on the day when the details of the *coup d'état* were being quietly arranged—the military by Fleury and De Saint-Arnaud, and the political by the ubiquitous De Morny, acting in concert with the Prince. He had broken through such a tangle of factions and confusion of political ideas as the world had never before seen. Donoso Cortés, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, an acute observer of the political hurly-burly, in a series of remarkable letters, has left his impressions of the quagmires and pitfalls, the dire conflicts of principles and interests, through which the President had to pick his way until, unable to put the least faith in any of the men of authority in the Assembly, he turned and stood at bay, and routed them. 'If there could be anything absolutely new under the sun,' writes the ambassador, 'it would be the spectacle which France offers to the world to-day. It is filled with monarchists who cannot establish a monarchy, and who groan under the weight of a republic which has no republicans to defend it. In the midst of this confusion, only two personages remain standing, Louis Napoleon and the Mountain; two things only are possible, a new revolution or a dictatorship. It is evident to me that force must bring about a solution. The victory of the Parliament over the President would cause the most violent tempest to break over France.' A week before the *coup d'état* the ambassador said: ''What will become of France, in what condition will Europe be, in a few months? It would appear as though there was nothing left for us but to lift our eyes to heaven, and

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to resign ourselves to the hands of Providence.' On December 3 his excellency wrote: 'We are in open revolution. If the Prince triumph, his name will be immortal in history.' And then again on January 12: 'I advised the *coup d'état*; I approved it from the first hour, and I am more and more pleased that I both advised and approved it.'

There was another ambassador in Paris who took a different view of the events of December 1851.

The sympathies of Lord Normanby were Orleanist; and by these he read the events which immediately preceded the *coup d'état*. How they misled him, and how much less skilful and deep an observer of events than Donoso Cortés he showed himself to be when he wrote to the Foreign Office on December 1, twenty subsequent years of cordial alliance between England and France were destined to show.

The Prince's reception in the evening was, as usual, crowded with officers, Deputies, municipal dignitaries, members of the Diplomatic Body, and the distinguished strangers in Paris. The Hon. Mrs. Norton entered the salons on the arm of the Marquis of Douglas. The lady remarked that the Prince appeared unusually flushed and animated; and the Marquis replied that if he had not known him intimately he should have said he had taken an extra glass of wine. But this excitement was not remarked by any of the crowd of observers who have described that memorable evening. There were hostile Deputies on the watch throughout the evening; but they went away persuaded that nothing extraordinary was in contemplation. The evening was, indeed, a particularly calm one, albeit the rooms were thronged, presenting a remarkable contrast with that first Presidential reception in December 1848 which took place in two half-furnished rooms. M. de Beaumont-Vassy, who was present, re-

marked that the Prince looked pale and worn, not flushed and animated, as he talked to his guests.

About eight o'clock the Prince withdrew for a few moments, and went to give directions to M. Mocquard, who was sorting and tying up all the papers relative to the coming event. Upon the parcel the Prince wrote in pencil 'Rubicon.' At nine o'clock he paid his secretary a second visit, and remarked to him, smiling: 'Nobody has the least suspicion.' He then went carefully over the proclamations which he had prepared, and which in a few hours were to be posted upon the walls of Paris.

On his return to his guests, the Prince made another tour of the rooms, pausing here and there to chat with a group of ladies, or to exchange a few words with a general or ambassador. As he passed Colonel Vieyra, of the 2nd Battalion of the Paris National Guard, he drew him aside and told him to be at the head-quarters of the Guard at the Tuileries at six o'clock on the following morning to receive orders, but on no account to permit a National Guard to appear anywhere in uniform. 'It is for to-night,' the Prince whispered, as he passed on—and at ten o'clock, as usual, he finally withdrew to his apartments.

As he re-entered his cabinet, he said to M. Mocquard, laughing: 'Do you know what is passing in the rooms? There is a general talk about an imminent *coup d'état*—but it is not ours: it is a *coup d'état* which the National Assembly is preparing—against me!'

CHAPTER III.

THE NIGHT OF THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

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WITH a key that Prince Louis Napoleon kept attached to his watch-chain he opened a secret drawer of his *bureau*, and withdrew three sealed packets. These he deposited upon the Roman mosaic table upon which his uncle had signed his abdication.[1] And then De Persigny entered, followed at short intervals by De Maupas, De Morny, and De Saint-Arnaud, who were startled by De Persigny's presence.

Mr. Kinglake, with his customary recklessness where Prince Louis Napoleon is concerned, represents the President as having at last fallen into the hands of a Persigny, a Morny, and a Fleury, and been driven by their needs and his own to the act of December 2. Here is General Fleury's reply:[2] 'It is time to dispose once and for ever of this old absurdity, which represents the Prince in the hands of his *entourage*. To assert that he yielded his will in this way is to give too great an importance to his principal friends. As for the vulgar and unworthy accusation that the President made the *coup d'état* to save himself from poverty, one must be blinded by hate not to concede to the Emperor that reputation for generosity and disinterestedness which even his enemies in France have not dared to assail. As to

[1] After the *coup d'état* the Élysée officials proposed to remove the abdication table from the Prince's room; but the Prince would not permit it, saying, with his sad smile: 'It might serve again.'

[2] MS. in the possession of the Author.

the Prince being pushed by his friends, it is false and absurd. They were his faithful and devoted servants, they and the chiefs of the army; and behind the army was the entire country.' Colonel Fleury himself, although he had the entire confidence of the President, was not of the *coup d'état* council; he was one of the aides-de-camp under the orders of De Persigny.

The Prince had suffered bitterly at seeing the friend of his misfortunes and his exile away from his side during the supreme act of his public life; and at the last moment he had resolved to overbear the enmity of the Morny and Fould set, and make him of the *coup d'état* party. This resolution was balm and solace to De Persigny, who had felt keenly his exclusion from the council chamber of his chief. The exclusion had never been for a moment deserved. De Persigny was not a man of sharp intellect; he was the intellectual inferior of De Morny; but he had a chivalrous nature that a vagabond life and hard fortunes had not spoiled; and when he erred his judgment and not his heart was at fault. His devoted friendship had not always a happy effect on the fortunes of his master; he made a miserable end of his adventurous life; but when there was danger to be incurred he was always to the front, and he proved after the prize had been won that his service was not merely that of selfishness. He was also a man of resources in difficulty, and one of the five who sat in that council chamber has left it on record that Persigny's advice was of great weight in the final adjustments of the plan.

All the writers who have described the last meeting of the authors of the *coup d'état* have dressed a scene as unlike the reality as it could well be. The discussions and sounding phrases which have been put upon the lips of the actors, the words and looks of the chief performers, are so much fiction. It was a calm and methodical con-

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versation.[1] An uninvited spectator sitting at a distance would have imagined that it was a very ordinary meeting on a current question.[2] Each of those present, the Prince leading off, re-read the proclamations which in a few hours were to cover the walls of the capital and reveal to France the altered course of her destinies. De Saint-Arnaud and De Maupas recited finally the series of measures each had to accomplish, and renewed the expression of their confidence that they would be able to carry them through without a hitch. And then the meeting broke up. The Prince quietly shook hands with his friends, bade them good night, and passed to his room. De Morny went on his way (first to whist with Count Daru at the Jockey Club), having no part to play until seven o'clock on the following morning, when most of the difficulties of the tasks of De Saint-Arnaud and De Maupas would have been surmounted.

De Saint-Arnaud's first step was to inform Marshal Magnan of the part which had been assigned to him. He next directed Colonel Espinasse to put a military

[1] 'The account given by Mr. Kinglake of what occurred on the eve of the *coup d'état* is so far from being correct that, instead of manifesting the perturbation, nervousness, and apparent anxiety of mind so graphically described, the Prince quietly retired to rest, and simply gave orders that he should be awakened at five in the morning. He betrayed not the slightest emotion, and nothing transpired that could give the household the most remote intimation of what was about to occur: indeed, it is a well-known fact that the domestics were as much surprised the following morning at learning that a revolution had taken place in Paris as any other inhabitants of the city, for some of them actually sallied out to enquire of the servants of the English Embassy whether there was any truth in the reports that had reached them from without.'—*Gronow.*

[2] Mr. Kinglake describes the conspirators as deliberating, but hesitating in the absence of Fleury. General Fleury replies: 'All this is *radotage* and pure invention. Fleury, like his comrades Persigny, Colonel Ney, De Toulongeon, De Ménneval, &c., was at the Élysée ready to carry orders—which they did at five o'clock in the morning, each in a separate direction.'—*MS. notes in the possession of the Author.*

cordon about the Assembly; and then he carefully marshalled all the military forces at his disposal for the campaign of the morrow, and he left no dangerous point unoccupied. In concert with Magnan, on whom he knew he might implicitly rely as commander of the Army of Paris, he took every precaution he could have adopted in an enemy's country on the eve of an engagement. Magnan had long known that the day would come when he would have to pronounce publicly in the Prince's favour, but he had desired to be left uninformed on the current of political events. He insisted upon remaining a soldier, who could take no order save from his superior. De Saint-Arnaud being Minister of War, the commander of the Army of Paris was bound to obey him, and in this instance he did so with a will.

When De Maupas left the Élysée at eleven o'clock, he took with him in his carriage Colonel de Béville, to whom the proclamations to be printed had been entrusted. The Colonel was to pass the night at the Imprimerie Nationale, to watch the printing, so that the news should not escape from the office. M. de Saint-Georges, the director of the establishment, was ready for the work, and had a staff of compositors at hand. This created no suspicion, for night work of importance was frequently required by the Government. Still no precaution was neglected. When Colonel de Béville entered M. de Saint-Georges's printing offices, it was at once surrounded by a company of Gendarmerie Mobile, under the command of Captain de la Roche d'Oisy, and every issue was hermetically closed. There were sentinels at every door and every window, with orders to shoot any person who should make a violent attempt to pass. The work was performed quietly and swiftly, and at the appointed hour Colonel de Béville and M. de Saint-Georges carried off the printed proclamations of the President, the Minister of War, and the Prefect of Police to M. de Maupas.

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The Prefect had been busy. On leaving M. de Béville, he had driven round to one or two important points; and had satisfied himself that Paris was quietly going to sleep in profound ignorance of the events that were preparing for the morrow. He then entered his Prefecture, and set about the extraordinary night's work that lay before him.

The success or failure of the *coup d'état* rested, in the first instance, with De Maupas. If one of the arrests failed—that of De Lamoricière, Changarnier, or one of the representatives of the Mountain, for instance—the alarm would be given; some regiments might hear the voice of one of their old generals before the word of their commanding officer; the Assembly might be got together, and Paris might be shaken from its slumber in all the terrors of a civil war.

But the new Prefect was an expert policeman. He had studied every item of the sum of human activity he would have to direct. Each arrest would require a separate commissary of police to control and ensure it. De Maupas had given a month to the study of the capacities, temper, and political bias of all his commissaries; and, with a single exception, he found them all he could wish. In the afternoon of the 1st every commissary was ordered to be at his post; and at three o'clock on the morning of the 2nd they were summoned, at intervals of a few minutes between three o'clock and half-past four, to the Prefecture, and to De Maupas's presence. Each commissary was kept apart from his fellow-magistrates. Each received his instructions and departed without having exchanged a word with a colleague. He knew his own duty, but remained as ignorant of the *coup d'état* as the soundest sleeper in the Marais. Each commissary was severely warned not to fail in his task. He was to arrest his man at any cost, but to treat

his prisoner with respect and kindness. No less than 800 men were thus put in movement in the dead of the night, and directed, without awakening suspicion in a single citizen, to fifty different places, each detachment remaining ignorant of the mission of any other. Even the chief of the municipal police was not informed why the Prefect required so many of his men in the small hours of the night; and he exhibited no curiosity on the subject.

De Maupas had profited by the recent political unrest of the capital to keep his agents of all degrees constantly on the alert. The political refugees in London had been in constant communication with prominent Paris demagogues, promising them that they would suddenly appear and be leaders of a movement. Fears of a Democratic or Socialist rising were therefore general in the minds of the Parisians; and rumours were spread on several occasions that the revolutionary chiefs had actually arrived from London. The Prefect of Police had used these reports to exercise his forces and spread them over the capital in the night precisely as he would require them for the *coup d'état*. Even on the eve of the great event a rumour had been spread abroad that Ledru-Rollin, Caussidière, Louis Blanc, and others were to arrive in Paris during the night. Public attention was therefore directed towards them; and the police who were alert on the previous night thought that they were again being kept out of their beds by the demagogues.

The Prefect of Police has the Municipal Guard under his orders; but De Maupas could not rely on this guard, because he knew its commander to be the creature of General Changarnier. He, however, so skilfully arranged matters—taking advantage always of the disturbed state of Paris—that he managed to obtain the co-operation of many companies on the captains

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of which he could rely to support the police in the more important or difficult arrests. The Municipal Guards were under orders to hold themselves in readiness to help the commissaries of police, if required to do so, to form escort for the prisoners to Mazas, and to disperse crowds if any should assemble.

Mazas had been chosen for the reception of the State prisoners because, while it was within easy distance, it was beyond a *coup de main*. Vincennes had been rejected as too far, and offering, in consequence, many dangers en route. Mazas, then, having been fixed upon as a depôt for the *coup d'état* prisoners, it became necessary to place it under the authority of a governor in whom the Prefect could repose entire confidence. Colonel Thierion was chosen, as combining energy and courage with tact and that perfect courtesy which the Prince had insisted should be shown towards those who must be for a short time his prisoners. He received his appointment from the hands of De Maupas at five o'clock in the morning; and went off, not to supersede the governor, but to act as extraordinary commissioner beside him. In Colonel Thierion's hands Mazas was safe against a surprise from without or a revolt from within.

Then there were the proclamations to be pasted upon the walls. This was done between six and seven o'clock, when Paris was waking under a new Government. The detachments of police having safely committed their prisoners to the care of Colonel Thierion, obtained fresh orders from De Maupas, and were everywhere on the alert where troubles were anticipated. The secret police of Paris are divided into four brigades, each under a chief. These brigades were posted in various quarters, the agents having orders to report all they heard and saw to the Prefecture. Squads of men were assembled in the Prefecture courtyard, who were told off to watch

the posting of the proclamations and to protect them if needful from the violent hands of the mob. A special commissary was charged with the suppression of the newspapers and of street cries. Nothing printed was to be circulated that had not the authority of the Prefect of Police.

A list of the hotels, cafés, and restaurants known to be the places of Socialist gatherings had been drawn up; and men were told off to close them at daybreak, and keep them closed. At the same time the doors were watched; and as the turbulent frequenters hurried, when the news got abroad in the morning, to the old rendezvous as a natural meeting-place for common action, they were taken off, one by one, and placed under lock and key. The coming and going of the market carts, and the opening of the markets, were put under special surveillance; so that while there should be no stoppage in the food supply to the capital, the market traffic should not be turned to account by barricade-builders or other evilly-disposed persons. The departure of the market carts was strictly enforced; every horse was watched; so that none should be seized by national guards (whose leanings were of a doubtful kind) and be made the means of swiftly disseminating alarm.

So much for the police organisation of the *coup d'état*. Within forty minutes all the public men who could have provoked a counter-revolution, or raised the standard of civil war in the country, were arrested in their beds, and conveyed to prison. The railway and telegraph stations, the public offices, the Ministries, the Palace of Justice, the Hôtel de Ville, were in the hands of the new authorities of the Élysée. In the days of June General Cavaignac had allowed the insurrection to develope itself fully, that he might crush it at a blow; in December 1858 the President endeavoured, in the first instance, to avoid a fight with his enemies by preventing them from

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organising themselves. In the days of December 1851 fewer men perished throughout France than were killed in a few streets of Paris in the days of June. 'It was impossible to do more at less cost.'[1] M. Dupin understood this when he replied at seven in the morning to the officers and questors who waited upon him for orders as President of the Assembly—

'This *coup d'état* is no doubt illegal, but we should all wish it success; for, if the President be defeated, we shall fall into the hands of the Reds, and then what will become of us? I hope he will succeed. I have neither directions nor orders to give to you.'

Before seven o'clock in the morning, seventy-eight generals, statesmen, Deputies, and demagogues had been quietly placed under lock and key. Some had resisted; some had entered solemn protests; and some had frankly acknowledged that they had been outwitted.

General Changarnier observed to the commissary of police: 'The re-election of the President was certain; what is the use of a *coup d'état?* What needless trouble he is giving himself.[2] If Louis Napoleon ever makes war with the foreigner, he will perhaps be glad to see me out again, and to confide to me the command of an army.' In his prison M. de Fallŏux said to De Persigny: 'You have done the right thing.' General Le Flô, questor of the Assembly, when arrested, dressed himself in his African uniform, hoping it would have an effect on the soldiers; and as he kissed his wife he whispered to her: 'Try and fire a cannon.' M. Baze made a theatrical scene, which was utterly thrown away on the police agents. M. Thiers was borne along making *prud'homme* protests and speeches, after having been, according to some

[1] *Le Coup d'État du Deux Décembre.* Par Louis Rochat. 'Revue contemporaine.'

[2] *La Préface du Deux Décembre.* Par le Vicomte de Beaumont-Vassy. Paris, Amyot, 1853.

chroniclers, almost paralysed with fear when first arrested. None who were on M. de Maupas's list escaped. CHAP. III.

While the arrests were preparing, a young advocate arrived from Montpellier at the Lyons railway station, called home in great haste to defend his father, who had been summoned to the Court of Assizes for having attacked the Government of the Republic at a meeting of electors. It was Émile Ollivier. 'I arrived,' he says,[1] 'at five on the morning of December 2; and I traversed the silent city, from the Lyons station to Batignolles, where my family lived,[2] little dreaming of the events that were happening at that moment'—little dreaming, also, of the part he would have in the close of the great social drama on the opening of which the winter sun rose that morning.

[1] *Le 19 Janvier: Compte-Rendu de la troisième Conscription de la Seine.* Par Émile Ollivier. 1869.

[2] The head of the family—the father of Émile—was Démosthènes Ollivier. He was an active and turbulent politician of the Extreme Left. The Minister of War and the Prefect of Police considered him a dangerous man, who must be kept in confinement for the moment. Even when Prince Jerome, at the instance of Prince Napoleon, appealed to the President, the Prince answered: 'I neither can nor will order the release of M. Ollivier.' But on January 9 the Prince, at the solicitation of his old friend M. Vieillard, relented, and ordered the release. M. Ollivier was not set at liberty, however, before February 18, so important did MM. de Maupas and de Saint-Arnaud consider his influence over the disaffected.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SECOND OF DECEMBER.

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At seven o'clock in the morning M. de Persigny, chief of the staff, arrived at the Élysée to report the proceedings of the night. All was quiet in and around the palace. As yet even the palace servants knew nothing of the revolution which had been accomplished in the night. The Prince appeared at his usual hour, and in his usual calm mood, with a cigarette between his lips. He learned that his plans had been so far carried out exactly, and without noise or confusion. De Morny had just repaired to the Ministry of the Interior, and was busy at the ministerial desk, protected from interruption by 280 Chasseurs de Vincennes. General Magnan had occupied all the dangerous points with his troops. De Saint-Arnaud was at work at the Ministry of War. De Maupas had scattered his agents over the capital, ready to meet rioters wherever they might rise. The citizens at the corners of the streets were tranquilly reading the proclamations of the President, with lively running commentaries, generally at the expense of the defunct Assembly. A friend of Dr. Véron remarked of these appeals to the people: 'This is the ending of a mediocre man, or the beginning of a man of genius.'

The Prince remained in his cabinet, not, as Mr. Kinglake has conveyed to his readers, in fear and dejection, but at work, and hard at work. General Fleury says:

'Mr. Kinglake shows that he is quite ignorant of military matters when he twits the Prince with remaining in his room, and not mixing with the throng in his antechambers. He was compelled to refuse to see crowds of importunate people. He was approached in the regular way through De Persigny, colonel of the staff, and his aides-de-camp —Fleury, Ney, Toulangeau, &c. All these hateful and calumnious inventions are odious. Not even hostile French pamphleteers have dared to cast a doubt on the courage of the Prince on the 2nd.'[1] CHAP. IV.

About eight o'clock the courtyard of the Élysée began to fill with a crowd of the Prince's supporters. A brilliant staff of generals gradually mustered to accompany him, when he showed himself to the people.[2] Aides-de-camp and visitors thronged the outer rooms. Among the early arrivals was the Princess Mathilde, who remained with her cousin throughout the day. Then followed the discarded Ministers of yesterday. King Jerome and Marshal Exelmans, splendidly mounted, and in gorgeous uniforms, clattered into the palace—the latter radiant, the former serious and doubting still. He had come forth from his residence in the Invalides after a discussion with his son, who was already actively plotting among the Socialists against his cousin. By nine o'clock the palace was filled with the Prince's military and political suppor-

[1] To Mr. Kinglake's ridiculous and mischievous story, to the effect that Colonel Fleury levelled a pistol at the Prince to force him forward in the midst of the *coup d'état* dangers, General Fleury makes this categorical reply, which we give in his own words: 'À cette assertion plus ou moins perfide le général Fleury oppose le démenti le plus formel. Rien, absolument rien, de pareil n'a pu être raconté par un des deux acteurs mis en cause, puisque l'incident est de pure invention.'—*MS. of General Fleury in the possession of the Author.*

[2] 'The Prince wanted to go out on horseback a second time, and along the boulevards. His friends, Fleury at their head, prevailed upon him with much difficulty to refrain.'—*Ibid.*

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ters, and at half-past an imposing group of dignitaries came forth from the Prince's apartments. The staff, headed by King Jerome and Marshal Exelmans, mounted their horses to await the hero of the day. In a few moments the Prince stepped lightly out from the aides'-de-camp entrance, in general's uniform,[1] and vaulted upon a superb charger—his grace as a horseman delighting the old generals and colonels who were looking on. 'His calm and serene countenance indicated and inspired confidence,' says M. de Beaumont-Vassy, who was a witness of the scene. 'There were four of us facing the door which had just opened on Cæsar and his fortunes—General Piat, MM. Lavallée, Kœnigswarter, and myself. We advanced to press respectfully the hand of the Prince, and to wish him the success his work of salvation deserved. He thanked us, and we walked together to where his horse was standing. . . . As he appeared in the saddle a loud shout of "Vive Napoléon!" arose from the soldiers, who brandished their arms in the air; and it was answered by his friends who were gathered about the principal entrance. The general movement forward, these shouts, the bold attitude of the President in the midst of his staff, the enthusiasm of the mounted escort, the handkerchiefs which fluttered from every window opposite the palace, welcoming the cortége as it gained the street, and the multitude of eager faces—made up one of the most stirring and remarkable spectacles it has been my lot to witness.'[2]

The Prince rode straight to the Place de la Concorde, where the artillery was stationed, enthusiastic friends in his wake scattering copies of the proclamations over the

[1] The Prince President wore, until December 2, the uniform of a general of the National Guard; and the men of the Mountain clamoured loudly against this as 'usurpation.'

[2] *La Préface du Deux Décembre.* Par le Vicomte de Beaumont-Vassy. 1853.

crowd.[1] The soldiers greeted him with loud cries of 'Vive Napoléon!' 'Vive l'Empereur!' and the excitement became intense as he turned his horse's head towards the Tuileries and entered the gardens of the palace. The workfolk on his route, delighted with the re-establishment of universal suffrage, and at the solution of a difficulty which had long kept work slack, waved their caps.[2] M. de Beaumont-Vassy, who had followed in the crowd, met M. de la Rochejacquelein as he turned into the Rue Royale. He had not been able to get near the proclamations, but he read eagerly a copy which M. de Beaumont-Vassy offered him. 'Well,' was his observation, with a smile, 'the President has shown us the door. I have long foreseen this result. He has been smarter and stronger than all of us; and then *he* appeals to the people. It is the only remedy for the predicament. I said so for the first time long ago. Nobody would believe me. Everything, however, is happening as I predicted. For myself, I am quite at my

[1] Captain Gronow was at his barber's.

'My eloquent friend [the barber], however, soon resumed his discourse, anathematising M. Thiers as having obliged Louis Philippe to resign, that he himself might become Prime Minister to the Duchess of Orleans, and hurling strong language against M. Émile de Girardin for abetting Prince Napoleon, the cousin of Prince Louis, in his views of succeeding to the presidentship: he had heard some cries in the street of "Vive l'Empereur!" from the military, and they had delighted him. Some of the surrounding persons, waiting to have their beards trimmed, differed from the knight of the brush; doubts were expressed of the talent of the Prince President, and there was evidently a Republican tendency springing up; but the announcement that the Prince, attended by a numerous staff, was passing by, put a stop to the conversation. Away everyone rushed to see the passing show, and upon their return there was a universal opinion expressed that the Prince President looked like a noble soldier and "every inch a king." His gallant bearing had evidently produced a strong impression upon the spectators, the majority of whom from that moment were evidently in favour of the changes that had taken place.'

[2] '"He is going to take possession of the palace," some men behind me on their way to work said to me. "*Il a fait son coup.* Well, all the better; work will be slack no longer."' —*Beaumont-Vassy.*

ease in the new situation. I have always demanded an appeal to the people. I shall wait quietly the result of the experiment; for, before all, I must be consistent with myself.'

The Prince was not on his way to the palace. He passed to the Place du Carrousel, where, amid hearty demonstrations, he received the regiments of the Line that were stationed there. Along the route of his progress, on the quays and boulevards, he was received at some points in silence, at many with spontaneous shouts of welcome, but at some with marks of hostility. The bulk of the people, however, appeared to rejoice in the act which had been accomplished; and he returned to the Élysée in high spirits. His adventure had the sanction of the masses. It has been put on record even by his enemies that he was well received by the people.[1] Captain Gronow, who witnessed what he describes, remarks:—

'It has been asserted that the Prince President remained in his cabinet during these eventful days, solitary and gloomy, and, like the Roman emperor at Capreæ, solely occupied in issuing his edicts for the destruction of his opponents. This story originally emanated from an author more distinguished for the brilliancy of his imagination than for the soberness of his judgment or the accuracy of his knowledge, and who was conspicuous for his malevolence and the virulence of his speeches in the Legislative Assembly. He has been followed by some who, whilst they claim to write history, have no hesitation in copying the errors and exaggerations of others; but it can be safely asserted that, far from Prince Louis Napoleon being left to himself, the Princess Mathilde remained with him the greater part of the day; King

[1] 'Il y recueillit de nombreuses acclamations.'—*Les Hommes de* 1851. Par Vermorel. Paris, décembre. Alonnier, 1869.

Jerome and most of the new Ministers were admitted, and the Élysée was not closed to any visitors who had a right to present themselves to the President. Those who were received found him calm, collected, and urbane as usual; and as notes and messages were placed in his hands, he received them with coolness, and quietly read their contents; but never, by his countenance, his gestures, or his words, could the effect or import of these communications be inferred. He addressed all with his customary affability and kindness, and conversed freely upon various topics. The Emperor, it is true, does not possess that volubility for which Frenchmen are remarkable. He thinks and weighs his words before he speaks, and what he says is concise and to the point. His manner is quiet and reticent, like that of a grave and thoughtful man; but this quietude is amply made up for by the flattering attention which he gives to the words of all with whom he speaks. Nothing escapes him. He listens intelligently to all that is said, and his replies and observations evince a wish not to express his own opinion, but to learn that of others; and he never fails to appreciate at their due value the views and opinions brought before him. Upon these eventful days the Prince maintained his usual equanimity, and was not more grave and silent than usual: he never for an instant flinched from possible danger; he was always prepared to meet it. Indeed, the man who had so boldly advanced 'into his enemies' country at Strasburg and at Boulogne was not likely to be daunted or quailed when so much was already accomplished; and his followers had seen enough of his conduct in such emergencies to be satisfied of his presence of mind and personal courage.

'M. de Persigny, whose attachment to the Emperor is such that he would at any moment lay down his life for him and for his dynasty, was constantly at the Élysée.

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for to him had been entrusted the task of effecting an honourable retreat in case of an adverse turn of circumstances. His duty it would have been, had the day gone against the President, to have collected the household, and to have conducted the Prince, with all the troops that were faithful, to the palace of the Tuileries, where the active leaders were determined to make a last stand, and succeed or perish with arms in their hands. This was the only alternative proposed. No preparations had been made for flight, no horses and carriages kept ready, no money had been sent to foreign countries, and nothing had been packed up to be carried off at a moment's notice. There was a firm resolve that death or victory was to be the result of this great enterprise.'[1]

When we consider the extent and authority of the testimony ready to confute and confound Mr. Kinglake on nearly every incident of the *coup d'état*, we remain surprised that a writer of his eminence could be so reckless, and that an honourable man could be so unjust. He deliberately states that the Prince on December 2 was not inclined to go beyond the streets and quays occupied by the troops, and that he was received coldly and disdainfully. General Fleury meets these assertions with the most unqualified and emphatic denial. The Prince never showed dejection, nor was seen with his elbows on his knees and his face buried in his hands. He gave audience to scores of people in the course of the day. He received many ambassadors,[2] Ministers, and generals; his ante-

[1] Mr. Kinglake has described the troops as disposed so as to protect the escape of the authors of the *coup d'état* in case of failure. General Fleury characterises this statement as a ridiculous invention. 'They were stationed at strategical points to prevent riot. The cavalry only were drawn up in the Champs Élysées to reconnoitre from time to time, and to escort the Prince on his promenades in town.'

[2] The diplomatic agents of Russia and Austria called, and, according to Lord Palmerston, were 'profuse in their expressions of approval of his [the President's] conduct.''

chambers were crowded, and his aides-de-camp were exhausted with their duties.

In the afternoon Lady Douglas, the Prince's cousin, called. He met her in the anteroom and conducted her, smiling and talking the while, to his cabinet.[1] Calling one of his aides-de-camp, he told him to order a bouquet; and this the Prince presented to his visitor at the close of her visit, as he conducted her on her way to her carriage.

While the day wore tranquilly away in visits and exchanges of congratulations, and offers of service in the Élysée, various critical events were happening in divers points of the city. Groups of the dissolved Assembly made sundry endeavours to meet and pronounce the downfall of the President. The first attempt, early in the morning, was at the Palais Bourbon. A considerable muster of Deputies contrived to reach the Chamber by a side-door, and to open a confused and desultory discussion. They insisted on seeing their president, M. Dupin, who had acknowledged hours ago the futility of resistance. He appeared and said: 'Gentlemen, it is evident that the Constitution is being violated. Right is with us; but not being the stronger party, I invite you to withdraw. I have the honour to wish you good-bye.' This short harangue increased the irritation of the sixty Deputies who heard it; and they were preparing for a noisy demonstration, when a battalion of gendarmes, sent by M. de Morny, dispersed them. At ten in the morning several Deputies of the Mountain assembled at M. Crémieux's house; but this meeting was speedily dispersed by De Maupas's vigilant police. The most important meeting,

[1] 'When the Emperor's eye brightened he had the most charming expression imaginable.' — *General Fleury's MS. Notes.* In reply to Mr. Kinglake, who has likened the Prince to a weaver, the General adds: 'According to his enemies the Emperor was the best bred, and in manners the most distinguished, man in France. To compare him with a weaver is an absurdity.'

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however, was that convoked and held at the *mairie* of the 10th Arrondissement, an hour after the Deputies had been thrust out of the Palais Bourbon. About three hundred Deputies, consisting of the allied Monarchists and Republicans, managed to reach the rendezvous.[1] M. Mayer, in his 'History of December 2,' has given a complete report of this extraordinary assemblage, at which M. Berryer was the principal speaker, and at which he proposed and carried a decree removing Louis Napoleon Bonaparte from the presidency of the Republic, and declaring that, in consequence of this removal, the Executive power passed by right into the hands of the National Assembly. Then the 10th Legion of the National Guard was called upon to protect the Assembly, and other decrees and suggestions were in course of proposition and discussion, amid a rapidly increasing confusion, when the arrival of the military was announced. On the appearance in the hall of a sergeant at the head of a company of chasseurs, the President and other Deputies called upon them to retire, and an edifying wrangle took place, first with the sergeant, then with a captain—General Oudinot, one of the Deputies, being, in the confusion, voted to the command of the Army of Paris. The General, assuming his new dignity at once, endeavoured to overawe the captain of chasseurs who guarded the door, but in vain; and he returned to submit the names of his staff to the vote, while M. Berryer harangued the crowd from the window.

[1] 'There is not a more pitiable scene in all history than this sitting, a report of which has been preserved. M. Berryer hesitated like the rest. They dared not adopt any measure, being afraid of the consequences of action. They dared not address an appeal to the people, because they had a stronger aversion for them than for the President. They protested as a matter of form, and waited anxiously for the providential commissary of police; who was to get them out of their difficulty and end this painful simulacrum of legal resistance into which they had allowed themselves to be drawn.'—*Les Hommes de* 1851. Par Vermorel. Paris, 1869.

All this was suddenly ended by the advent of two of M. de Maupas's commissaries, who advanced into the hall and told the meeting to disperse. The President referred them to Article 68 of the Constitution, and they referred him to the chasseurs. While the President was parleying with the police a military officer entered upon the scene, and read an order from General Magnan commanding the immediate dispersion of the meeting and the arrest of those representatives who should offer any opposition. The President and General Oudinot endeavoured to turn this officer from his duty, but he remained inflexible; and with more wrangling the representatives were led by the arm, having declared they would yield only to force, through the streets to the barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, where they were shut up by half-past three, to the number of 220—the officers' quarters being placed at their disposal.

The decrees voted at the 10th Arrondissement became known on the boulevards. They were even printed. 'About one o'clock,' M. de Beaumont-Vassy has related, 'I met one of my friends of the Société des Gens de Lettres —a hot-headed Republican—who cursed the *coup d'état.* "All is not over," he exclaimed, with an air of triumph; "the representatives are sitting in the hall of the *mairie* of the 10th Arrondissement. They have pronounced the downfall of Louis Napoleon: General Oudinot is appointed commander-in-chief of the National Guard and the Line, with Tamisier for chief of his staff. The representatives are furious and full of energy. I saw Berryer harangue the crowd from an open window; Antony Thouret, Piscatory, Quentin-Bauchart, are haranguing groups. Matters are beginning to mend, and in about an hour things will wear a different aspect."'

The furious and energetic representatives behaved like lambs, the truth being that the Monarchists were

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frightened at the prospect of a counter-revolution, and that the meeting at the 10th Arrondissement was, so far as the majority of the actors were concerned, a sham demonstration by which they saved appearances. Scores of them were not displeased when, late in the day, they were driven off from the Quai d'Orsay barracks in omnibuses to the casemates of Mont Valérien, to Mazas, and to Vincennes, to be out of harm's way. They even protested against any attempt at rescue.[1] Two ardent representatives of the Mountain, it is true, found their way to M. de Morny's room at the Ministry of the Interior, and summoned him to constitute himself a prisoner and to recall the *coup d'état*; but they retired in confusion under the withering irony of the Minister, who, as the elder Dumas remarked, had a hand of steel in a Jouvin glove.

Thus ended the Parliamentary resistance to the *coup d'état.*

This was not all the opposition of the constituted authorities. The High Court of Justice met at ten o'clock in the morning, but dispersed hastily on the appearance of commissaries of police, supported by a battalion of the Municipal Guard, leaving an unsigned decree which declared Louis Napoleon Bonaparte guilty of high treason, and convoked a national jury to proceed at once to judgment on him. A copy of this decree found its way later into the hands of the insurgents, and was posted upon the walls, with the signatures of two unknown Socialists appended to it.

[1] 'Two or three days later, seeing that these gentlemen lingered in the fortress, although the gates were open to them, a ruse was adopted to get rid of them. They were ordered to enter a line of carriages prepared, they were told, to convey them to another place of confinement. These carriages presently drew up in the midst of the arid plain between the fort and Paris, and their occupants were told that they were free, and that if they refused any longer to return to their homes the orders were to take the horses out and leave them.'—Dr. Véron, *Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris.*

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By four o'clock in the afternoon, however, all danger of combined opposition from constituted authorities was at an end, and order reigned throughout the great city. Indeed, at no period of the day had business been interrupted, nor had the ordinary current of Paris life been disturbed. The shops, warehouses, and public offices had remained open. The law courts held their sittings. There was no excitement at the banks, nor interruption of business at the Ministries. In the evening the theatres were full. Crowds of citizens had been reading the proclamations posted upon the walls in every arrondissement; and yet there had not been a single riot. The restoration of universal suffrage gave satisfaction to the Prolétaire; the escape from a Red revolution delighted the bourgeois; the prospect of an immediate improvement in trade contented the Marais and the Faubourg Montmartre; and the Faubourg Saint-Germain slept the first quiet night it had passed for many months. But the calm was only the presage of a storm. The Reds managed to hold a meeting in the course of the evening, at which a call to arms was resolved upon. Four leaders were chosen by lot to conduct the insurrection—viz. MM. Baudin, Schœlcher, Esquiros, and Madier de Montjau. These leaders, who had escaped M. de Maupas's commissaries, at once set to work to draw up, print, and post proclamations calling upon the people to rise. The most warlike of these appeals was signed by Victor Hugo, 'delegate of the united Mountain;'[1] but the delegate who called the misguided workfolk to the barricades was not there to meet them. M. Hugo made the best of his way to safety, where

[1] 'Au Peuple.—*Article* 3:—La Constitution est confiée à la garde et au patriotisme des citoyens français. Louis-Napoléon est hors la loi. L'état de siège est aboli. Le suffrage universel est rétabli. Vive la République! Aux armes! Pour la Montagne réunie. Délégué, V. Hugo.' —*Annuaire historique universel, ou Histoire politique pour* 1851. Paris.

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he might lampoon the Prince who had disdained his political services.[1]

Thus when the sun went down on December 2—the anniversary of Austerlitz—albeit the streets were quiet and most of the leaders of insurrection were under lock and key, MM. de Saint-Arnaud, de Morny, and de Maupas had indications of dangerous undercurrents promising an unquiet morrow. Magnan kept his army in hand, and De Maupas allowed no rest to his commissaries. De Morny, leaving to these the care of the capital, sat late at his Ministry, directing orders to his prefects in every part of the country, and answering, in his firm and quiet way, the multitude of questions that was poured in upon him. He was never embarrassed and never taken by surprise. In the course of the day the Count de Montalembert, M. Léon Faucher, and other influential representatives called upon him, and vehemently remonstrated against the arrest of a number of their colleagues. De Morny turned coldly upon his visitors and said: 'It is my conviction, gentlemen, that I am securing the salvation of France and of society. I risk my head in this enterprise; perhaps you will permit me, then, to take all the precautions I may consider necessary.' And he went on with his work.

The revolutionary chiefs had agreed to fire the signal gun of insurrection at ten o'clock at night; and to begin that eminently civilising work barricade-building in the Temple, Saint-Antoine, Saint-Martin, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Marceau quarters. They had chosen the old battle-ground. The tocsin was to have been sounded in all the churches; only vigilant M. de Maupas had taken the precaution of cutting the bell-ropes and occupying the belfries. The revolutionary chiefs with their staff were

[1] Prosper Mérimée, in a letter dated December 20, says that Hugo was disappointed at not being arrested, and that a commissary of police had said to him he had orders to arrest only *les gens sérieux*.

to appear on the boulevards between the Portes Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin.

At ten o'clock a few of the leaders appeared, and their lieutenants scattered themselves over the neighbourhoods that were to be raised, calling upon the people to come forth and fight. But the people made no satisfactory answer. They had counted on the disaffection of some of the troops, and not a soldier had deserted his colours. Printer after printer had refused to print their inflammatory addresses. Not a church bell could be reached. Between their meeting in the day time and their appearance at ten o'clock at night M. de Maupas had managed to secure the most formidable of their leaders. In short, all was confusion and disappointment. Even the promised hand-grenades had not come. Dejected and confounded, the rioters went away to bed, having agreed to reflect upon their defeat and meet at seven o'clock on the morrow morning in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine.

The Prince, who had had a busy day, dined in the evening with M. Turgot, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, and several members of the Diplomatic Body, and afterwards held a small reception at the Élysée. M. de Beaumont-Vassy, late in the evening, talked with him while, leaning against the mantlepiece of the second salon, he quietly smoked his cigarette, and from time to time received reports from, and gave orders to, his aides-de-camp. The officer who had dispersed the representatives from the Palais Bourbon in the morning greatly amused the Prince with a sprightly account of the transaction, and particularly of M. Dupin's offhand bearing. Prince Louis had a strong sense of humour. Madame Cornu never failed to insist on this whenever she described the character of her illustrious playmate.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATIONS.

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'THERE are days,' M. Guizot has remarked,[1] 'when power loses its right to fidelity, when nations acquire the right to protect themselves by force, finding no longer in the established order of things either security or help—dreadful, mysterious days, which no human science can foresee, which no human Constitution can govern, but which dawn sometimes with the mark of the Divine hand upon them.' Such a day, according to Prince Louis Napoleon, was the 2nd of December. During one of his provincial tours he had remarked: 'To me order is the maintenance of that which has been freely elected and consented to by the people; it is the national will triumphing over all factions.' In the cause of order, to be based on the declared will of the nation, as an effectual foundation, Prince Louis Napoleon put an end to that conglomeration of factions which sought to put an end to him, the elect of the nation. In violation of the already violated Constitution he did it, and in violation of his oath of fidelity to the Republic. The breaking of an oath is unjustifiable; but the measure of condemnation must be regulated by the conditions under which the perjury is committed. Prince Louis Napoleon was a man whose honour and whose word, on the eve of the *coup d'état*, were unimpeachable. The baseless calumnies of a Kinglake and a Chenu, ridiculous by the ignorance on which most of them

[1] Washington, *Civilisation en Europe.*

are grounded, on repulsive from the deliberate misrepresentation of facts, may be passed over as unworthy the notice of unprejudiced men. Mr. Kinglake goes the length of charging the Prince with dishonourable turf transactions, without being at the pains of adducing a single fact or shadow of testimony in support of the assertion.[1] The Prince, at the time of the *coup d'état*, was a man whose honour no enemy could justly impeach, and whose truth and high-mindedness had commended him to the sympathy of many of the most distinguished public men of France—as M. Charles de Montalembert, for instance,[2] —who had been drawn into contact with him between 1848 and the end of 1851. It was with acute moral anguish, and after long periods of resistance and of doubt, that he laid violent hands on the Constitution. It is easy to assert that he acted under base and selfish motives. Mr. Kinglake is not ashamed to state that the Prince violated his oath because the Assembly refused him more money. This of a man who never valued money, and who scattered the remnants of his fortune among his friends when he was sent a prisoner for life to Ham, and who finally left France, after a reign of twenty years, a poor man! But the Prince's life, both before and after this main event of it, stands witness in his behalf that the act for which he has been condemned in unmeasured terms, and which, it must be repeated, is not susceptible of justification, was committed by him with high and noble motives, and in obedience to that mystical dictation

[1] General Fleury observes on this passage of Mr. Kinglake's text: 'Is it possible to vilify to this extent a prince who reigned for twenty years in France, and was always England's most faithful ally? As though he required a character from Mr. Kinglake!'—*MS. Notes on Kinglake's 'Crimean War,' by General Fleury, in the possession of the Author.*

[2] M. C. de Montalembert, in *L'Espagne et la Liberté*, has acknowledged that he accepted and approved the *coup d'état*. He regarded his act afterwards as a great error; but because the government which it carried to power did not yield the liberty and the liberal Church of his dreams.

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within him which he called his destiny or his star. He most sincerely believed in his mission, and that it was part of it to save society from the chaos to which the factious Assembly was hurrying it. He committed evil that good might come out of it. 'I broke the law,' he hastened to say, 'to re-enter the domain of right.'[1]

The proclamations to the people and to the army, which covered the walls of Paris on December 2, and were gradually posted in every commune of France, to explain the President's act, and the position which, as the elect of the nation, he had assumed, discovered a strong anxiety to obtain a legal status without delay. While dissolving the National Assembly and the Council of State, and re-establishing universal suffrage by abrogating the Law of May 31, the President convoked the people to pronounce within a fortnight on his plan for carrying on the government of the country.

'The actual situation,' he said, 'can continue no longer. Each day aggravates the dangers of the country. The Assembly, which should have been the firmest supporter of order, has become a hot-bed of conspiracies. The patriotism of three hundred of its members has not been able to arrest its fatal tendencies. Instead of passing laws for the general interest, it forges weapons for civil war; it has designs on the power which I hold direct from the people; it stimulates bad passions; it compromises the tranquillity of France. I have dissolved it; and I appeal to the people to be judge between it and me.'

Then the Prince turned to the Constitution, and to the way in which it had been drawn up and worked

[1] 'Je note, en passant, ce détail peu connu, que c'est dans la lettre d'un évêque—Mgr. Meujaud, je crois—que le Prince trouva la phrase si heureuse qu'il introduisit dans sa proclamation: "Vous n'êtes sorti de la légalité que pour rentrer dans le droit."'—*Le Deux Décembre.* Par Fernand Giraudeau. Paris, Pérignon, 1873.

against him, the elect of the nation. 'You know that the Constitution was framed to enfeeble the power which you were about to confer upon me. Six millions of suffrages were a striking protest against it; and yet I faithfully respected it. Provocations, calumnies, outrages, have not stirred me. But now that the fundamental pact is no longer respected even by those who continually invoke it, and that the men who have already destroyed two monarchies are striving to bind my hands that they may overthrow the Republic, it becomes my duty to confound their perfidious projects, to maintain the Republic and to save the country, by invoking the solemn judgment of the only sovereign in France whom I recognise—the people.' This is the language of a statesman acting on a solemn conviction. He continued: 'I make, then, a loyal appeal to the entire nation; and I say to you: If you desire to continue this period of uneasiness which lowers us and compromises our future, choose another in my place, for I will no longer hold a power which is incapable of doing good, which makes me responsible for acts which I cannot prevent, and chains me to the rudder while I see the ship running to the abyss. If, on the contrary, you have still confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the grand mission which I hold from you. This mission consists in closing the era of revolutions, by satisfying the legitimate wants of the people and protecting them against subversive passions. It consists, above all, in creating institutions which shall endure beyond the lives of their authors, and be foundations upon which an enduring fabric may be raised.'

The Prince then set forth the outline of the Constitution with which he proposed to govern—an outline identical in all essentials with that laid down by his uncle, and of which the Prince had been an admiring student from his youth. 'Persuaded,' he said, 'that the instability of

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power, that the preponderance of a single Assembly, are permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental bases of a Constitution, which the Assemblies will develope later:—

'1. A responsible chief elected for ten years.

'2. Ministers responsible only to the Executive.

'3. A Council of State, composed of distinguished men, who shall prepare laws, and support them in debate before the Legislative Body.

'4. A Legislative Body debating and voting the laws, elected by universal suffrage, without *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election.

'5. A second Assembly, composed of the illustrious men of the country—a ponderating power, and the guardian of the fundamental pact and public liberties.'

The Prince recalled to his countrymen that this system, which the First Consul had created at the beginning of the century, had already given repose and prosperity to France; and he maintained that they would ensure both again. 'This is my profound conviction,' he said. 'If you share it, declare so by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a Government without strength, Monarchical or Republican, derived from I know not what chimerical past or future, answer in the negative. Thus, for the first time since 1804, you will vote knowing what you are voting for, and for whom. If I should not obtain the majority of your suffrages, I shall convoke a new Assembly, and I shall place in its hands the mandate I received from you. But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol—that is to say, France regenerated by the Revolution of '89, and organised by the Emperor—is still your France, proclaim it by consecrating the powers I ask from you. Then France and Europe will be preserved from anarchy, obstacles will fade away, and rivalries will disappear, for all men will

respect, in the will of the people—the decree of Providence.'

It was impossible to put a plainer platform, to use an Americanism, before the nation. Suppose that the President was covertly working towards the Empire when he drew up this proclamation; it could not be said that he was underhand in his policy, or that he was false to the principles of government he had set forth in his writings. He had always held that the sovereignty of the people was the basis on which the political institutions of his country should rest; and he was always ready to submit his projects to that sovereignty. He might become Emperor, but never without the direct vote of the nation. The people, not he, should put an end to the Republic.[1]

In his address to the army the Prince exhorted the soldiers to cause the first law of the country to be respected, viz. that of the national sovereignty, of which he was the legitimate representative. He called upon them to give him strength to assure the national prosperity, or to choose another in his place. 'In 1830,' he said, 'as in 1848, you were treated as conquered men. After having calumniated your heroic disinterestedness, your sympathies and wishes were disdained: yet you are the *élite* of the nation. To-day, in this solemn hour, I wish the army to make its voice heard. Vote, then, freely as citizens; but, as soldiers, do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the head of the Government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general to the soldier. It is for me, responsible as I am for my actions

[1] 'He ordered, it is said, his imperial mantle. Sempstresses were engaged in embroidering the golden bees at the time when he declared to those who were urging him forward, "No, I will not betray the Republic;" and the marvellous feature of the transaction is, that he said it in good faith.'—*Georges Sand's feuilleton in 'Le Temps' after the death of the Emperor.*

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to the people and to posterity, to adopt the measures which appear to me to be indispensable to the public good. Remain unshaken within the rules of discipline and of honour. Help the country, by your imposing attitude, to manifest its will with calmness and thoughtfulness. 'Be ready to repress every attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.'

The last paragraph of the proclamation appealed to the memory of the Napoleonic legend. 'Soldiers, I will not speak to you about the memories my name recalls. They are engraven in your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There is between us community of glory and of misfortune in the past; there will be, in the future, community of sentiments and resolutions for the repose and greatness of France.'

A proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, signed by the Prefect of Police, calling upon them to maintain order while the nation pronounced on the great deed and the appeal of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and telling them that the President had acted in their interest and for the preservation of the Republic, followed those of the Prince; and these constituted the explanations of the *coup d'état* which the Parisians read on the morning of the 2nd.

The Ministry to whom public affairs were to be entrusted on the day of the *coup d'état*, and in the early and difficult days of the new order of things, was definitively formed, after many discussions and difficulties, only on the morning of the 2nd. The list appeared in the 'Moniteur' of the 3rd, because the 2nd was occupied in settling whether M. de Persigny should figure in it as Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. To this nomination MM. de Morny and Fould were opposed; and it was only after an obstinate resistance that the President consented to omit his devoted friend.

The Ministers were men who, although they had not served in the ranks of the Parliamentary leaders, had experience and authority. To call the *coup d'état* Cabinet a weak one, or one composed of unknown or mistrusted or dishonest men, is to make a false and a foolish statement. The Ministers were: M. Eugène Rouher, Minister of Justice; M. de Turgot, Foreign Affairs; General Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, War; M. de Morny, Interior; M. Magne, Public Works; M. Lefèvre-Duruflé, Agriculture and Commerce; M. H. Fortoul, Public Instruction; and M. Achille Fould, Finance.

M. Rouher had already distinguished himself. An advocate from Riom sent to Paris to represent his native place in 1848 in the Conservative interest, he had soon conquered so marked a position as Deputy that on October 30, 1849, he was appointed Minister of Justice. Putting aside easily the style and airs of the provincial bar, he had shown that he was a man of strong original mind, and possessed of gifts as an orator which were *sui generis*. He could grasp the most complicated subject, and lay every part of it bare before his audience, using for his purpose a kind of unadorned eloquence akin to that of Cobden. His strength was rough, and unwieldy at times; he was, as his colleague De Morny described him, the man *aux grosses pattes*; but he shouldered through a question, and carried it triumphantly against the fine fencing and dainty phrases of the political *petits-maîtres* of the Monarchy of July.

So burly Luther breasted Babylon.

M. Thiers finished his elaborate speech on the great La Plata question at six in the evening, and the Assembly would have adjourned, leaving the Minister to reply on the morrow; but M. Rouher, with the true instincts of a debater, being full of his subject, and having his op-

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ponent's phrases fresh in his mind, went straightway to the tribune, and in a masterly argumentative harangue turned the tables upon his adversary. M. Guizot was among those who applauded the remarkable Riom advocate.[1] 'There is a man of courage,' he said. 'He will make his way.' The skill with which, while Minister, M. Rouher piloted the press law through the National Assembly increased his reputation as a politician.[2] The President was among his earliest and most thorough admirers; and he consulted him with pleasure on many occasions, for he saw the high value of his clear insight and of his almost brutal sincerity in the expression of his opinions. M. Rouher was a man whose solid character could be relied upon, who was capable of a thorough and exhaustive study of any question to which he applied himself, and whose private life was as spotless as it was modest and studious. His subsequent career proved the sagacity of the President in calling him to his councils. The Marquis de Turgot, who received the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, had begun life as a Royalist and a guardsman in the time of Louis XVIII.; was subsequently a Peer of France under Louis Philippe; and finally rallied heartily to the Bonapartist cause. From the time of the *coup d'état* to his death, in 1866, he served the Emperor as Minister, Senator, and Ambassador.

Le Roy de Saint-Arnaud, upon whom Mr. Kinglake has vented his bitterest wrath, was a brilliant soldier, who was not unknown long before Colonel Fleury singled him out in Algeria as the officer endowed with those qualities

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[1] The bar of Riom supplied the Empire with a second notable man in the person of M. de Parieu.

[2] It was in the course of the debates on this law that M. Rouher turned upon the Mountain and said: 'Your revolution of February was nothing but a catastrophe'—a boldness of speech which created a dangerous tumult, during which the discussion on the Bill was closed and the measure was carried.

which were necessary to the Minister of War of December 2. The reader who may require to know something more about De Saint-Arnaud, and something truer and more intimate than is to be found in Mr. Kinglake's pages, should read the two volumes of the Marshal's private letters which his brother published in 1855. Herein he will find proofs of a spirit at once kind and heroic, and of intellectual capacities far higher than any with which the outside world has credited him. De Saint-Arnaud was a wild spendthrift, he had the vices which are often seen in military heroes, and the position he suddenly assumed in Paris in the autumn of 1851 drew upon him the malevolent tongues and press of the capital. He was vulnerable at many points, and at each he was mercilessly assailed. The slanderers even went the length of accusing him of having murdered General Cornemuse, after a scandalous quarrel about money missed by the Emperor in the Palace of the Tuileries. But unfortunately for them Cornemuse lived long after the slander was bruited about, and died in his bed of inflammation of the lungs, the result of exposure to the night air after a ball.[1]

De Saint-Arnaud, under the protection of General Bugeaud, won his grades rapidly, each step being marked by some brilliant military exploit. Bugeaud said of him: 'He will rise high, and I covet the honour of having helped him.' His advancement after the President had selected him as his Minister of War, over the heads of other generals, gave umbrage to many deserving officers; but none ventured to question his remarkable military qualities, for he was the model of a French soldier. Alert, intrepid, bearing heavy responsibilities lightly, a gay com-

[1] 'The General died peaceably in his bed of inflammation of the lungs, caught by exposure after a ball. *I was present at his death.*'—*Le Coup d'État anecdotique.* Par Ducasse. Société des Gens de Lettres.

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panion, a fast friend; careless about his purse, and with a taste for extravagance—he was a man who would have had no enemies had he never stepped out of his profession. If not *sans reproche*, he was indubitably *sans peur*; and his most unscrupulous enemies have not been able to fix a blot on his honour.

A few words on the officer to whose discrimination the President was indebted for his Minister of War.

M. Fleury, now general of division and Count, was, at the time of the Presidency, lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd Hussars and *officier d'ordonnance* to the President of the Republic. Mr. Kinglake does his utmost to exaggerate the importance of, and then to vilify, this officer, as part of his general plan of calumniating the Emperor.

Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury comes of a very good middle-class commercial family. Highly educated, of distinguished manners and appearance, he mixed, as a young man, in the best Parisian society. In his youth he dissipated his fortune, like many other young men; and in 1837 he boldly enlisted as a soldier. In those days, more than in these, young men of good family entered the ranks. Marshal Bazaine, Generals du Barail, and Count de Montaigu, and many others are living examples of this. Fleury was remarked and rapidly advanced by Marshal Bugeaud, Generals de Montauban, Yusuf, the Duke d'Aumale, and Colonel de Saint-Arnaud. He passed rapidly through the grades to his captaincy; and after twelve years of hard service in Africa he returned to France, on leave, at the end of 1848, with the rank of *chef d'escadron*.[1]

Prince Louis Napoleon had just been chosen Deputy.

[1] The archives of the Ministry of War show that Colonel Fleury has been cited fourteen times in orders of the day, was decorated for having taken a standard, has been twice wounded, and has had three horses killed under him.

There were vague rumours of his election to the Presidency of the Republic. Colonel Fleury had known the Prince in England before he entered the army. He now joined the Prince's cause; and two months before he was elected Chief Magistrate he offered him his sword, at the risk of compromising his position in the army. Fleury took no part in the political or Parliamentary events which led up to the *coup d'état*; but when he saw that the time must come when the Prince would have to save France from another revolution, he volunteered to find the man, the general, who should be his principal and indispensable instrument—in a word, his Minister of War.

During four years at Orleansville Fleury had served under the orders of Colonel de Saint-Arnaud; and he had seen in him that enterprising, bold, firm, and courageous character necessary to the service to be rendered. Fleury proposed to the Prince to go to Algeria and win over De Saint-Arnaud. The offer was accepted, and he succeeded with De Saint-Arnaud, and also with other old companions in arms, notably with Bosquet, the hero of Inkerman, Canrobert, Espinasse, De Lourmel, Bourbaki, &c.

In short, most of the superior officers who stood by the Prince during the *coup d'état* were the Algerian companions in arms of De Saint-Arnaud and Fleury. To describe all these officers as a band of base adventurers is to show ignorance of their past and to forget their subsequent services.

M. Magne, Minister of Public Works, was no unknown man when he rallied resolutely to the President's cause. He had sat for Périgueux, his native place, from 1843 to 1848, and had made a reputation as a financier, especially on Algerian affairs. When M. Guizot proposed to create a Minister for Algeria, M. Magne was indicated for the position. During the Presidency he had already held office as Minister of Public Works from April to

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October 1851; so that he had not been out of office more than three months when he joined the *coup d'état* Ministry. The Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, M. Lefèvre-Duruflé, was an eminent manufacturer who had been a Deputy during the Monarchy of July, and who had sat in the Legislative Assembly on the Conservative benches since 1849.

M. Achille Fould, Minister of Finance, had been an authority on financial subjects, as Deputy for Tarbes, during the last six years of Louis Philippe's reign, and had been a steady supporter of M. Guizot. After the Revolution he sat in the Constituent and National Assemblies, where his authority as an eminent financier was of great weight in the settlement of the many difficult money questions which transpired. His work during the Presidency was immense; and the country owed to his knowledge and his courage in the use of it the many useful items of financial legislation which were carried between 1848 and 1851. During this time he accepted office as Finance Minister four times. His assumption of office, then, on December 2 was an important accession of strength.

Such were the elements of that *coup d'état* Cabinet, which reckless writers have described as composed of unknown or desperate men.

In addition to this Ministry the Prince formed a Consultative Commission, consisting of Frenchmen of note and authority. The publication of the first list of Commissioners gave rise to several public protests, of which the Prince's enemies made excellent use. But these protests were chiefly acts of timidity on the part of men who wished to stand aloof until after the ratification of the Prince's powers by the national vote on December 20. The formation of the Commission was entrusted to M. Baroche, and on December 14 the definitive list was

issued.[1] It included twenty-two ex-Ministers (of the Republic or of the Monarchy of July), one marshal, the first president of the Cour des Comptes, the first president of the Court of Appeal, the first president of the Court of Cassation, the Governor of the Bank, the Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, twenty-three generals, two ex-*procureurs généraux*, two ex-prefects under Louis Philippe, and 134 ex-Deputies. These had all rallied to the cause of the Prince before the nation had absolved him from the responsibility of the *coup d'état*, and these were of the band of adventurers who, according to Mr. Kinglake, stood by Prince Louis Napoleon while he appealed from the National Assembly to the nation.

[1] 'The Consultative Commission had been definitively constituted by a decree of December 13. This decree confirmed most of the nominations already published, and added several new members to the list. We remark hardly any withdrawals save those of M. Léon Faucher (who had made himself ridiculous to all parties by his outrageous bursts of vanity) and M. Joseph Périer, Regent of the Bank of France and brother of Louis Philippe's Minister.'—*Vermorel.*

CHAPTER VI.

DECEMBER 3 AND 4.

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On December 15 M. de Maupas concentrated his daily reports to the President on the *coup d'état* in one comprehensive statement. This document was produced at the request of the Prince. On the 7th, being at the Opera in company with De Morny, Magnan, De Saint-Arnaud, and De Maupas, the Prince received the visits of the representatives of foreign Courts. He remarked that the manner of some was constrained; and in a conversation with the English ambassador he discovered that the wildest exaggerations were current as to the bloodshed of the 3rd. It was said that thousands had perished.

The Prince, greatly moved, turned to De Maupas, and having obtained from him a formal denial of the facts, or alleged facts, submitted by the ambassador, ordered a complete and an exact report on the events of December 3 and 4 to be drawn up.[1]

Of course such a report puts matters in the best light, but there exists no reason why it should not be good evidence against the monstrous and ridiculous exaggerations of the Prince's political enemies, who have delighted to describe the morrow of the *coup d'état* as a day of reckless bloodshed. The violence of party passion immediately after December 2 excuses some of the charges which were made against the Prince President, his Ministers and

[1] *Rapport du Préfet de Police sur les Événements du 3 Décembre* 1851. 1853. Unpublished.

agents; and at the same time it explains their wildness. Slander was the only weapon left in the hands of the generals, politicians, and expectant placemen who were completely circumvented and crushed by the Prince's triumph. The most extravagant stories stole abroad from Mazas and Vincennes. It was reported that honourable—nay, illustrious—public men had been treated with wanton indignity; that prisoners had been made by the thousand;[1] that there had been wholesale executions; that a drunken soldiery had enjoyed a battue of peaceful citizens along the boulevards; and that hosts of inoffensive Frenchmen had been deported, and would not be heard of again. The blow which was struck in the cause of order was a severe and decisive one; and they who could not retaliate in deeds were venomous of tongue. The slanders they disseminated fell on fertile ground. The Republicans and Orleanists found nothing too atrocious for the credulity they affected. The Prince President, in their coteries and cafés, became an inhuman monster; and his satellites were presented to terrified women and children as gorged with the blood of their kindred. Stories that now look like grotesque inventions, calculated rather to raise a laugh than to excite indignation, were swallowed by the *gobe-mouches* of the faubourgs, who furtively foregathered in silent, unregarded places; and these were carried to their houses on trembling lips, where Louis Napoleon was erected into an ogre, whose threatened appearance kept the children quiet. This terrorism, created by the factions whom the Prince President had defeated, was used years afterwards to defile his name, to distort his most patriotic acts, and to sap the foundations of his throne. It was based on wilful falsehood, and yet statesmen of honourable repute

[1] 'Le personnel de la police ne permet que soixante ou quatre-vingts arrestations simultanées.'— *Rapport du Préfet de Police sur les Événements du 3 Décembre* 1851, p. 4. Paris, De l'Imprimerie de Ch. Lahure, 1853.

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adopted it as a weapon, and Orleanist partisans have never ceased to foist it as severe truth on too credulous writers.

The *coup d'état* was carried out with vigour and foresight, and in the execution of it many necessarily harsh acts were committed. But M. de Maupas protested that in every instance where it was found necessary to deprive a personage of his liberty, in all dealings with political antagonists, in every act of oppression committed upon an individual in the cause of general order and safety, care was taken to remove from the proceeding the least appearance of anger or of vengeance.

The generals and chiefs of parties or factions who had given unmistakable signs of their determination to resist the President's power, and to raise the standard of civil war, were, as already described, arrested in their beds. To begin with, sixteen representatives, eight of whom belonged to the Mountain, and sixty-two known and turbulent demagogues—builders of barricades and stump orators in Socialist clubs—were put under lock and key. Not a single prisoner, M. de Maupas reported, had to complain of the treatment he suffered. The police agents had strict orders to treat with gentleness even the violent men who might load them with curses.

The arrests which took place about midday of the 2nd committed to safe custody the local demagogues who were known to have matured designs upon the public peace. Having taken up the reins of power, the President was bound, in the public interest, to hold them firmly, and to prevent civil war at all hazards. That armed resistance had been contemplated by the hostile sections of the Assembly was made clear by the drafts of decrees found among the papers of M. Baze. One of these called out the 10th Legion of the National Guard, as that most

[1] *Rapport du Préfet de Police sur les Événements du 3 Décembre* 1851. Paris. De l'Imprimerie de Ch. Lahure, 1853.

likely to give a sympathetic support to the Assembly. The rapidity and method with which some 200 representatives were gathered in the *mairie* of the 10th Arrondissement, and were asked to vote the impeachment of the President and his Ministers, the appointment of General Oudinot to the command of the Army of Paris, and a regular series of measures for the constitution of an Administration in the place of that of the Élysée, indicated a preorganised plot that was to blossom on the ruin of the elect of December 10. It is to this organisation that we must attribute the insurrectionary movements of the night of the 2nd and the following day, and consequently the deplorable scenes which followed immediately on the *coup d'état.* These were, after all, but feeble repetitions of the events of the bloody days of June, when General Cavaignac was in command of the army. The opponents of authority in December 1851 were the same men who had raised the Red standard over the deserted National Workshops in 1848. In 1848 the causes of resistance to the Executive were the harsh measures of banishment and military service which had been imposed on the workmen, whom some Republican Utopists had flattered, deluded, and then forsaken; in 1851 they were the workings of the baffled ultra-Socialists and incompetent but vain and noisy Republicans (assisted with money and words of encouragement by the Monarchists), who, with the help of Orleanists and Legitimists, had hoped to be rid of the man whose authority rested upon the formally expressed national will. Behind the barricades were representatives of a miserable minority of the nation; fronting them were millions of Frenchmen who were not prepared to barter their liberty for order, but who had had more than enough of that 'desolate freedom of the wild ass'—liberty without order or security for the morrow.

Let us see how, according to various historians,

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official, officious, and inimical, the new Authority disposed of the apostles, soldiers, and servants of Disorder.

Paris revolutions or insurrections begin always by the Boulevards Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis; and it was hereabouts, as we have seen, that in the afternoon of the 2nd crowds of unruly and angry aspect began to gather. When the workmen who had, according to M. de Maupas,[1] been cheering the President, while he reviewed the military forces that had so zealously supported his action against the Assembly, were returning in serried masses along the boulevards, they involuntarily strengthened the agents and dupes of the secret societies, and the noisy crowds became immense by the Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin Gates. The intervention of the police could not be with safety delayed. About two o'clock four commissioners, supported by a strong body of police, appeared on the scene, put an end to the street oratory, which was inflaming the passions of the mob, and carried off about forty ringleaders to the Prefecture of Police, where they were locked up in a roomy and well-ventilated ward.[2] Troops appeared also, and cleared the boulevards. As yet, although some of the police agents had been maltreated by the crowd, no blood had been shed. The leaders of the mob had, in many instances, behaved with great violence, desiring to precipitate a general collision; but the police were under orders to behave with circumspection as well as firmness, and they obeyed the *mot d'ordre* admirably, although they had seen one of their number on the point of being torn to pieces by a group of the more violent of the rioters. The cries that rose above the din of the swaying masses of excited men were, 'Down

[1] *Rapport du Préfet de Police sur les Événements du 3 Décembre* 1851.

[2] 'Un lieu commode et salubre.' —*De Maupas.*

with the President! Down with the priests! Down with the army!' On the Boulevard Montmartre two fashionably dressed men were arrested while they were addressing groups in favour of the overthrow of the President. But as the day wore towards its close the streets and boulevards became quiet. The dinner hour is always one of comparative peace, even when an insurrection is at its height.[1] Only at one point, about sundown, was there any serious turmoil; and here the violence of the rioters overcame the patience of the police, who, outnumbered, beaten, and in deadly peril, turned upon their assailants, two of whom paid for their turbulence with their lives.

As the night wore on Paris, outwardly, became calm, But the leaders of the secret societies who had escaped the vigilance of the police were active within doors—sitting *en permanence*, drawing up inflammatory addresses to be posted on the public walls, sending forth an appeal to the workmen to take up arms, and generally preparing for a regular resistance to the President's Government. We have seen how they were received when they went into the streets at ten o'clock at night. The bolder plotters, in their hiding-places, went the length of framing a Provisional Government, which was to be triumphant at the Hôtel de Ville on the morrow. Many of these secret committees were broken up by the police, and before the morning of the 3rd about 160 notable *sociétaires* had been put under lock and key. It was clear, notwithstanding, that the day would not pass without a serious conflict. The Prefect of Police had begged the masters of important workshops to keep them open, and persuade their men to remain at work, and some had succeeded; but the day was too obviously big with stirring events to

[1] De Maupas.

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be passed in the workshop. The men who had no part in the insurrectionary movement were stirred by curiosity. For every rioter there were ten *badauds*.

The compositors of the newspapers which had been suspended were the first to arrive at the meeting-place of insurrection in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. The insurgents' posters were already upon the walls, and even guarded by armed men. Barricades, strategically situated, were rising rapidly. A few representatives of the Mountain remained to direct and envenom the contest. The first serious conflict between the military and the insurgents was upon the barricade of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, and in this the representative Baudin was killed as he urged the insurgents forward from the summit of the barricade. His death created a wild and widespread excitement. The boulevards became packed with tumultuous hostile mobs. The leaders perched themselves on elevated places and read the revolutionary proclamations and decrees. False news about the downfall of the Élysée Government were spread on all sides. But hours passed without any serious collision between the police or soldiers and the people. Fortunately the insurgents were not as plentifully provided with arms as they had been in 1848. At four o'clock in the afternoon, although nearly all the eastern half of Paris was a vast scene of riot, and appeared to be in the possession of the mob, General Magnan had made nothing like a general movement of his troops to destroy the barricades and clear the streets. This delay was attributed to fear, to disaffection in certain regiments—in short, to every cause that could be turned to account to give the insurgents heart. It was, however, the deliberate design of two men who were strangers to fear. De Saint-Arnaud and De Morny had resolved to put an end to armed resistance by one blow. The telegrams sent by the cool-headed Minister of the Interior in reply to the

excited De Maupas, who forwarded him a series of alarming rumours which his commissaries picked up on their rounds, demonstrate the fitness of De Morny for the functions to which he had been appointed. De Maupas was troubled by the most extravagant reports, and carried on his arrests wholesale;[1] De Morny reproved him and told him to be careful and circumspect, and, above all, not harsh.

In the midst of the excitement of the 3rd, while an unruly population filled the streets and the air was filled with deafening seditious shouts, a carriage appeared at the end of the Faubourg Saint-Antoine. In this carriage sat Prince Louis Napoleon—alone and without escort. The mob was tumultuous for a moment, then sullenly silent. Way was made mechanically for the carriage, which passed slowly along. As it proceeded the workmen became dazzled by the Prince's intrepidity, and by hundreds they uncovered, while many for the first time shouted 'Vive l'Empereur!'[2]

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[1] Prefect of Police to the Minister of the Interior, Thursday, Dec. 4: 'It is said that the 12th Dragoons have arrived at St. Germain, with the Count of Chambord in their ranks as a soldier. I hardly believe it.' M. de Morny's answer: 'And I don't believe it at all.' Prefect of Police to the Minister of the Interior, Thursday, Dec. 4: 'Mob on the Pont Neuf. Shots fired on the Quai des Fleurs. Compact mob in the neighbourhood of the Prefecture of Police. They are firing through a gate. What is to be done?' Reply of M. de Morny: 'Fire through *your* gate.'

[2] 'C'était au lendemain du coup d'état; le faubourg Saint-Antoine, ce faubourg ouvrier qui épouvante si fort aujourd'hui notre république, était soulevé. Une population ardente, enflammée, se pressait dans les rues, brandissant des armes, proférant les plus terribles menaces contre les auteurs de ce que M. Victor Hugo appelle "le guet-à-pens de décembre." M. de Marcère, qui était de la campagne ou qui se préparait à en être, n'était pas à son aise. On pouvait craindre que la bataille à peine finie ne recommençât.

'Tout à coup il se fit un grand mouvement à l'extrémité du faubourg—de bruyantes clameurs suivies d'un silence—puis l'on vit apparaître une calèche: dans cette calèche, le prince Louis-Napoléon, seul, sans escorte, sans aucune de ces précau-

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De Saint-Arnaud watched events with equal calmness from the Ministry of War. Early on the morning of the 3rd he wrote to Magnan that he was right in keeping his soldiers in barracks, and giving them rest, so that they might be fresh and ready to act at any moment. As early as seven in the morning the Minister of War received from M. de Maupas alarmist messages—being surprised and frightened by the absence of display of military force—but he treated them in the spirit of De Morny, and went to work with his troops methodically. He sent two brigades to disperse the rioters in the Faubourgs Saint-Antoine and Saint-Jacques, and before noon the barricades were carried, and the insurgents were scattered in disorder—cowed by the energy and determination of the soldiers. But, although dispersed, they were not utterly disheartened. In the afternoon attempts were made to raise barricades in the Rues du Temple, de Rambuteau, and round about; but they were frustrated by charges of chasseurs; and although M. de Maupas reported the arrival of 'patriots' from Rouen, the rumoured arrival of Ledru-Rollin to direct the revolution, and other signs of civil war, as plots against the life of the President, more barricade-building, the day closed without further bloodshed or fighting. In the evening the excited Prefect reported to the Interior and to the War Department that all was calm; that the workmen were returning to their work, that the shop-keepers were calming down, and that, in short, the energy of the Executive had

tions militaires dont s'entourent les chefs d'État lorsqu'ils voyagent ou se promènent.

'La calèche traversa lentement la foule hostile, qui s'ouvrit machinalement pour lui livrer passage.

'Il y eut un moment de stupeur. Puis cette foule généreuse, impressionable, se sentit entraînée par cette héroïque confiance du prince dans la population parisienne; toutes les têtes se découvrirent et pour la première fois en France depuis 1815 on entendit retentir ce cri: "Vive l'Empereur!"'—*Robert Mitchell*, L'Estafette, Nov. 4, 1876.

finally triumphed. It was, however, at this time, when the Prefect was calm, that the real danger was brewing. His latest report reached the War Office when De Saint-Arnaud and Magnan were receiving authentic news that the night would produce formidable barricades, that the insurgents had broken into the rooms of a great number of National Guards and carried off their arms, and that, in short, the 4th would be a gloomier day than the 3rd had been.

M. de Maupas was not the only believer in startling news throughout the 3rd and 4th. Prince Napoleon, under the guidance of M. de Girardin, was among the most active of the President's enemies, and was to be seen among the leaders of revolt urging them on, and glorying in every rumour of success; while his father, from his quarters in the Invalides, wavered between his son and the Élysée, leaning always to the side that was reported to be gaining ground. With Prince Napoleon was the Prince de Canino, both hopeful that they might come to the front if Prince Louis was overthrown; the former being jealous of his cousin, and forgetful of the favours Louis had showered upon him until he had fatigued him with his ingratitude and misconduct.[1]

'Well,' cried Prince Napoleon, as he entered his father's presence on the afternoon of the 3rd, 'it is not over yet. The barricades are rising, the societies are about to act, the faubourgs are becoming agitated. Neumayer is marching upon Paris with 15,000 men; he is at hand. Castellane has refused to adhere to the *coup d'état*. The Court of Cassation has met to prosecute and judge Louis. Things are getting warm.' He appeared delighted. But the Prince expressed his hopes,

[1] For a complete account of the proceedings of King Jerome and his son during the *coup d'état*, see *Le Coup d'État anecdotique*. Par Ducasse. Paris, Librairie de la Société des Gens de Lettres.

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not his convictions. He belonged to the party that was spreading these wild reports in order to create the excitement which was described as existing. In the evening one of the Prince's followers reached the Invalides with the report that the downfall of the President was posted everywhere, that representatives of the people were leaving for Amiens, and that on the morrow the President would undoubtedly be in Vincennes. While members of Prince Louis's family were thus speculating on his discomfiture, his more loyal generals were preparing to stamp out the insurrection on the morrow. In the evening Magnan wrote to De Saint-Arnaud that the time had come to give complete confidence and peace to the citizens of Paris, and that consequently he had issued orders to the various brigades of the Army of Paris to draw up in line of battle, in the various threatened quarters of the capital, at ten o'clock in the morning, and at the least sign of disorder to act with energy. He was resolved that the streets should be cleared, and that the shops should not be again compelled to close their doors. His orders to the three generals were precise and peremptory: 'Withdraw all the troops to their quarters. Let them rest to-night. Let the barricade-building go on without interruption. Comply with no requisition for troops. To-morrow at ten o'clock the Army of Paris will carry all the barricades with artillery.'

Before the morning Magnan altered the hour for the appearance of the troops to nine o'clock; and the time for a general combined attack on the insurgents, who had fortified themselves in a great square of the capital, reaching from the Seine to the quiet boulevards, and from the Rue de la Paix to the Rue du Temple, was fixed at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On the morning of the 4th the insurrection, encouraged by the impunity enjoyed throughout the night, had taken

formidable proportions, and held strong positions. During the previous day Socialist and other leaders opposed to the Élysée had succeeded in exciting the idle crowds in the streets, the rallying cry being 'Tayo! Tayo!' Between the Rue Laffitte and the Faubourg Montmartin preachers of insurrection had never ceased to harangue the people; and the police had not been strong enough to interfere. The assassination of the President and disobedience to the laws had been openly advocated, and insurrectionary handbills of many kinds had been plentifully distributed. The most alarming reports were industriously carried from street to street. At Lyons, Amiens, Lille, and Rouen the insurgents were victorious, and General Neumayer was at the gates of Paris with 30,000 men! General Lamoricière had escaped from prison, and was on the boulevards at the head of the regiments which had declared for the President! The Court of Cassation and the High Court of Justice were sitting *en permanence* at Versailles under the protection of regiments of the National Guard! The President was deposed and outlawed! The President had just taken by force from the Bank twenty-five millions, to be distributed to his generals and soldiers! General Bedeau was covered with bayonet wounds! Cavaignac had been gagged and handcuffed! These are only the more striking inventions which the agents of MM. Victor Hugo and Schœlcher went crying about the streets, these two worthies having placarded the walls with this monstrous falsehood:—

'Inhabitants of Paris,—The National Guards and the people of the departments are marching on Paris, to help us to seize the traitor Louis Napoleon Bonaparte.

For the Representatives of the people.

'VICTOR HUGO, *President*;

'SCHŒLCHER, *Secretary*.'

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To meet these infamous appeals to the passions of the working classes, who remained in the main deaf to them, the Minister of War caused an order to be posted on the walls to the effect that the disseminators of false news to the insurgents would be arrested as accomplices and delivered over to a council of war. It is not to be wondered at, in short, that on the morning of the 4th M. de Maupas surveyed the scene with considerable trepidation.

But the generals knew their troops, and could confide in them to a man. They were fresh. They were full of zeal, and not a little angry at the reception they had received. Partisan writers have described them as drunk with the Prince's wine; but proof of this has been sought in vain. Between the troops and the insurgents there existed a strong animosity, which the latter had raised by systematic insults. So that the soldiers undoubtedly obeyed orders, when the moment for action arrived, with a will. Moreover, they were devoted to the cause of Prince Louis Napoleon.

The morning light discovered upon the walls a proclamation with the signature of the Minister of War, which warned the disaffected that any man taken on a scene of riot, or on a barricade, with arms in his hands, would be then and there shot. This rigorous measure threw terror among the insurgents, and many of them at once deserted the barricades and points of defence at which they had been posted by their leaders. At eight o'clock De Maupas declared that Paris was tranquil, and at the same hour General Levasseur, who was stationed with his brigade at the Hôtel de Ville, reported that, to his astonishment, there was neither mob nor barricade in his vicinity. But the sun had hardly left the horizon when ominous reports reach the Ministries of War and of the Interior. Hostile and menacing groups began to form on the left as well as the right bank of the Seine. They found strong

bodies of troops in every direction. These, however, remained motionless throughout the morning, and by degrees the insurgents ventured forth, the street orators—'café conspirators in black broadcloth and yellow gloves,' as General Magnan called them—renewed their harangues, the boulevards became crowded with mixed multitudes of rioters and lookers-on, and the barricades were covered with the soldiers of revolt. Throughout the morning M. de Maupas sent hasty appeals to the Ministries; but General Magnan, who was posted with his staff on the Place du Carrousel, made no answer. He had appointed two o'clock as the hour for a general convergent movement of his forces upon the strongholds of the insurrection; and at that hour, and not before, his brigades were simultaneously set in motion.[1]

The Bourgon brigade took up its position between the Portes Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin; the Canrobert and Cotte brigades were massed along the Boulevard des Italiens; while General Dulac occupied the ground by Saint-Eustache, and General Reybell filled the Rue de la Paix with his brigade of cavalry. Operations began by a convergent movement towards the centre of the insurgent faubourgs of the Carrelet and Levasseur brigades. The Bourgon brigade swept the boulevards eastward to the Rue du Temple, and cleared this street of barricades as far as the Rue Rambuteau. General Canrobert attacked and carried the formidable barricades in the Rue Faubourg Saint-Martin and adjacent streets, his chasseurs assaulting them at the point of the bayonet. General Dulac, supported by a battery of artillery, put the insurgents to flight from the Rue Rambuteau and neighbourhood; while General Levasseur at the head of his troops

[1] The soldiers had sixty cartridges in their boxes, and carried rations for four days.

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penetrated into the heart of the insurrection in the Rues du Temple, de Rambuteau, and Saint-Martin; and General Marulaz cleared the Rue Saint-Denis and its neighbourhood.[1]

To the east, in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, General Courtigis, who had arrived from Vincennes, carried everything before him, scattering the barricades and insurgents of this most turbulent quarter. All these simultaneous operations were conducted with extraordinary vigour. The barricades were first attacked with artillery, and then carried by assault—the troops experiencing in many instances a very warm reception from the rioters, many of whom had managed to obtain arms. Near the Rue Montmartre, on the boulevards, General Reybell's cavalry were met by a smart fusillade from some of the houses, to which the troops as smartly replied. And hereabouts happened the most deplorable episode of this dark day.

Mr. Kinglake has not hesitated to adopt the most ridiculous statements, rumours, and calculations on the 'butchery' on the boulevards—quoting Captain Jesse's letter, which has been proved to demonstration to be a string of exaggerations, the work of an over-excited imagination. General Fleury, among others, has met it with

[1] The generals of brigades who suppressed the insurrection were mostly brilliant African officers—the flower of the French army. Some dated from the Empire, as Carrelet, who was wounded at Eylau, Ripert, and Korte. Canrobert, the hero of Zaatcha; Dulac; Renaud, one of the most brilliant officers produced by the African campaigns, and had seen service in Spain; Forey, who had served fifteen years in Algeria; Levasseur, who had held important commands in Africa; Herbillon, who directed the siege of Zaatcha, and had governed the provinces of Constantine; Marulaz, who led his regiment to the assault of Rome, and had distinguished himself in Kabylia; Tartas, who commanded the cavalry at the battle of Isly; and D'Allonville, who had pursued Abd-el-Kader to his remotest retreat—formed a group of general officers of whose names and exploits the French people had reason, as a military nation, to be proud.

a series of authentic denials. Marshal Canrobert, who commanded the troops who are alleged to have perpetrated the 'butchery,' is alive to refute Mr. Kinglake's errors.[1]

Captain Gronow was on the boulevards when the 'butchery' took place. He says in his published 'Reminiscences:'—

'I happened on that day to pay a visit, in company with my friend Mr. Paget of the British Embassy, to my banker in the Rue Basse du Rempart. M. Charles Lafitte then gave us to understand that orders had been given to the military to act with great moderation; but if there existed the slightest disposition to riot, they were to "take the bull by the horns," and to destroy all barricades with cannon. During our short interview the bugles were heard close at hand; the windows were opened, and we took up a position on the balcony, whence we saw marching, in good military order and at double quick time, the Chasseurs de Vincennes. M. Lafitte, without anticipating what was about to occur, good-naturedly said: "If you wish to see the fun, you had better follow the troops; for I am confident, from the information I have this moment received, that they are bent on mischief."

'Mr. Paget and I bent our steps towards the Rue Richelieu, where the rattling of musketry was distinctly heard. My friend left for the British Embassy, saying that, as a diplomatist, his place was in the Faubourg

[1] 'Mr. Kinglake says a colonel of one of the regiments engaged said his regiment alone killed 2,400 men. This odious assertion, which is not even in Tenot or Delord, must be refuted. Is it possible that a man of sense can have made such an assertion? It is an *infamie*, and I am distressed to think I didn't know it when Mr. Kinglake produced it twelve years ago.'—*MS. Notes by General Fleury in the possession of the Author.* In a note to his fifth edition Mr. Kinglake is forced to admit that one of his anonymous informants on the alleged butcheries had subsequently allowed that he might have *un peu exagéré.*

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Saint-Honoré and not upon the boulevards. Immediately afterwards a brigade of lancers, commanded by Colonels Forey and Rochefort, arrived opposite the spot where I had placed myself, at the angle of the Rue Grange Batelière and the boulevards. A considerable crowd had there collected; and such was their hostile attitude, and so loud their vociferations, that I was convinced the lancers would not long remain inactive, especially if the slightest insult was offered them. From amongst these persons thus collected came a pistol ball with a loud detonation, and a soldier was wounded. Colonel Rochefort immediately charged at the head of his regiment; the consequence was that several of the crowd were severely wounded, and a bad feeling sprang up amongst the soldiery. I thought it prudent to quit this scene and return to my home, which I reached with considerable difficulty.

'Certainly all that occurred was of a nature to excite uneasiness and alarm; but "that it was seen with frenzied horror by thousands of French men and women" is an absurd exaggeration. The upper classes of Paris were no doubt exceedingly angry and irritated, because during every *émeute* in the metropolis the boulevards on the Madeleine side of the Rue Richelieu always continued to be the resort of the *flâneur*, and had escaped the slaughter consequent on the erection of barricades; and they went there attracted by "the pomp and circumstance of war," and thought themselves safe; for they looked upon the soldiers as their national defenders against insurgents, and they were maddened at the idea of the slaughter of unarmed saunterers, who had gone out as it were under the shield of the military to see what was going forward.

'. . . The occurrences of that day undoubtedly struck terror into the hearts of the people of Paris which will

never be obliterated, and they certainly have tended to affect the popularity of the Emperor Napoleon in the capital, more especially as his political adversaries have never failed to throw upon him the responsibility of events over which he had no control. So dishonest have been some of the writers who have furnished the public with their tales, that it has been stated that in the gardens of the Tuileries and the Luxembourg military executions of prisoners took place in the dead of night. The overthrow of a pile of the chairs which in winter are generally to be seen in the garden of the Tuileries, and the consequent alarm given by the sentry, was even magnified into an attack upon the palace and the consequent carnage of the assailants. As for the statement that platoons of soldiers performed the office of executioners in the night, it is a pure invention; and the rumour alleged to have been credited in Paris, that during the night of the 4th and 5th of December prisoners were shot in batches and thrown into pits, is an equally groundless fabrication. I never heard that such a falsehood was propagated until I read this shameful insinuation in a volume which claims to be a contribution to history. As for the "nine kinds of slaughter" which the eccentric writer discovers that military men may unhesitatingly indulge in, I do not think that any of these have relation to the melancholy events of December 4.

'Those events are deeply to be deplored, but they arose out of accidental circumstances. No one has ever attempted to defend them; and they ought not to be exaggerated, either for the purpose of exciting the sympathy of nations, or for the sake of blackening political enemies. There was no wanton massacre of the people, as has been asserted; there were sad mistakes, and people ran into danger notwithstanding the warnings that were distributed everywhere—for placards were upon

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the walls in every direction, entreating everyone to stay at home. There were insurgents, there were barricades, there was firing upon the soldiers; there was therefore a necessity for martial law to be enforced; but the Emperor is not chargeable either with the wild excesses of the soldiery or the credulity of the Minister of Police. The Parisians, even at the height of their excitement, did not hold the Prince President responsible for these deplorable consequences; neither had he the least apprehension of being the object of vindictive feelings. So far from entertaining any personal fear, his calm self-possession was never more conspicuous than during these eventful days.'

But the idea of a wholesale massacre of innocent, unarmed citizens on the boulevards became firmly fixed in the general mind throughout Europe; and it was fortified by the industry with which the enemies of Prince Louis Napoleon (who were active instigators of the insurrection) repeated every circumstance in support of it which they could gather and invent.[1] The most indefatigable collectors of calumnious misinformation were the Orleanists; and they found England a fruitful field for the dissemination of their malignity. Even the 'Times,' so late as August 28, 1852, asserted that no less than 1,200 unarmed and inoffensive citizens were assassinated in the streets of Paris after December 2 by a drunken soldiery. The 'Moniteur universel' replied: 'The refutation of such a calumny lies in its very exaggeration. Everybody knows that the official report gives the num-

[1] On the Boulevard Montmartre General Reybell's cavalry and Canrobert's *fantassins* were received with a hot fusillade, chiefly from the houses on the south side of the way. The troops replied with vigour, the gates of the houses from which the firing had proceeded were destroyed by cannon shot, and in the fight thirty-five insurgents or lookers-on were killed, and many wounded.

ber of persons killed during the insurrection at 380. Even this number is undoubtedly too heavy. As to the accidentally wounded, fortunately the number does not exceed eight or ten.'[1] The suppression of the insurrection, begun at two o'clock, was almost completed by five. All the strongholds of the insurgents had been taken; and there remained only to scatter them at the divers isolated points at which a few reassembled towards nightfall, threatening to renew the fighting on the morrow. In the Rues Saint-Honoré, Montmartre, and on the Place des Victoires, barricades were erected towards nightfall. They were all, however, easily swept away, and their builders dispersed by the troops, except those in the Rues Montmartre and Montorgueil, where the insurgents had taken the precaution to destroy the street lamps, and thus to cover their operations with complete darkness. Here formidable barricades were erected; but at eight o'clock at night Colonel Lourmel determined, in spite of the darkness, to destroy them, and leave no fortress for the insurrection on the morrow. His troops carried no less than five barricades, some of which were desperately defended. On the most formidable forty of the hundred men who defended it were killed. With this sanguinary contest, carried on in the utter darkness of a December night, the bloodshed in Paris consequent upon the *coup d'état* may be said to have closed. On the left bank of the Seine General Renault had nothing to do all day. There were menacing groups here and there among the population of the 11th and 12th Arrondissements; but not a single blow was struck. Throughout the night strong bodies of cavalry swept the boulevards, and battalions of infantry, strategically disposed, prevented the further disturbance of the capital. Soldiers

[1] See Appendix II.

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occupied the corner houses of all the disaffected streets. The cavalry encamped by their fires in the Champs Élysées. Canrobert remained with his soldiers at the Porte Saint-Martin. But all the troops whom Magnan felt he could with safety withdraw retired to their quarters. In his report to the Minister of War of the day's proceedings, written in the evening, Magnan remarked that 'the troops who were for the first time engaged in street warfare have been too easily roused by the shots fired upon them from the windows, and replied by useless fusillades. The generals managed to calm them, and then led them forward to the barricades.' This sentence explains the wild fusillade along the boulevards, and proves that it was not the premeditated act of the generals nor wanton slaughter by a drunken soldiery. The soldiers were bewildered by the immense crowds, the deafening vociferations, and were at last exasperated by the shots from the windows.

General Magnan finally reported to the Minister of War:—

'The reports which were addressed to me during the night of the 4th on the state of Paris having given me the assurance that the insurrection would not dare to raise its head again, I withdrew part of the troops at midnight, to give them the rest they had so richly earned. On the morrow, the 5th, I wanted to show the entire army of Paris to the populace. By this demonstration I desired to give confidence to the well-affected and to strike terror through the disaffected. I ordered the brigades of infantry, with their artillery and their companies of engineers, to scour the capital in flying columns, to attack the insurgents wherever they might find any remaining, and to carry and scatter all obstacles to free circulation.

'General Carrelet, at the head of a column of his division, marched to the Barrière Rochechouart, where a

formidable barricade remained; but the insurgents, cowed by the result of the 4th, dared not defend their entrenchments, and fled at the approach of our soldiers. Another barricade, raised in the Faubourg Poissonnière, was also deserted by its defenders before General Canrobert, at the head of a column, could reach it. From this moment the public peace has not been disturbed in Paris, and the circulation has been everywhere re-established. The army returned to its quarters, and from the morrow, the 6th, Paris beheld no longer a universal parade of forces in the streets, and resumed its business and its pleasures.'

CHAP VI.

Thus ended the insurrection of the *coup d'état* in Paris. It was promptly suppressed not only by the vigour of the military authorities, but also by the skill and success with which the commissaries of M. de Maupas, supported by the soldiers, were able to seize upon the leaders who sent forth inflammatory proclamations from their clubs, and many of whom never took part in the scenes of violence which they provoked.[1]

Driven from the streets of Paris, and unable any longer to incite the deluded workmen of the faubourgs, by falsehood and by gifts of money, to disturb the public peace, the routed Monarchists and Socialists, who had made common cause, took to the manufacture of stories of wholesale military executions in the dead of the night. These stories were believed; and Mr. Kinglake has endorsed them. But discreeter anti-Bonapartist historians have found it prudent to merely hint at the possibility of such atrocities. M. Taxile Delord, who has a hearty appetite for nearly any extravagant charge against the Empire and its chief, puts the case tentatively:—

'Did executions *en masse* take place in the prisons,

[1] On January 20, 1852, there had been 2,133 arrests, 216 being representatives. Of these 29 remained at Sainte-Pélagie.

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at the Prefecture of Police, and on the Champ de Mars? It is now impossible to tell. The "Moniteur" of August 30, 1852, reckons the number of persons killed at 380. A list of the dead interred in the cemeteries of Paris on the 5th could alone tell us whether the "Moniteur" account is correct. The *conservateur* of the Montmartre cemetery in 1851 has often told how he received 350 bodies on December 5, with orders to bury them immediately, without even allowing them to be identified.'[1]

M. Delord has not been able to obtain more than this flimsy gossip on the subject; but, knowing nothing, he is careful to suggest to the reader that midnight butcheries may have taken place. Mr. Kinglake fortifies his bolder statement by the testimony of 'a man widely known,' but whom he does not name. Prosper Mérimée, who looked on at the *coup d'état* in his own light, cool, and indifferent manner, writing to a friend on December 20, with no idea of after-publication, said: 'De brutalités, il n'y en a pas eu. . . . La bataille fut peu de chose. . . . J'oubliais de vous dire que notre Président avait un des premiers repris sa sérénité et son sang-froid normand.' Of Hugo he observed contemptuously that he was not gratified with the prestige of imprisonment.

It has been the fashion—and it has been the interest of the Orleanists and Republicans—to talk and write about the violences of the *coup d'état* as though they have had no parallel before or since in the annals of the history of France. The truth is that it was a military promenade compared with the insurrection of June 1848 and the Commune of 1871.[2]

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] 'The transportation voted by the Constituent Assembly, under the influence of the terror and hate which followed the insurrection of June, applied only to insurgents taken with arms in their hands and arrested before June 17; but, by a singular abuse of arbitrary power, General Cavaignac and his worthy Ministers

After the days of June the Constituent Assembly ordered the transportation *en masse*, and without trial, of 6,000 insurgents. The report of General Appert on the action of military tribunals after the defeat of the Commune shows that on January 1, 1875, 13,313 persons had been condemned to punishments ranging from death to fines. Of these 217 were sentenced to death, 410 to *travaux forcés*, 7,480 to transportation, and 4,692 to various terms of imprisonment.

A glance at the Bonapartes lodged at the Invalides affords an instructive side-view of December 4. At six in the evening Prince Napoleon—the 'Prince of the Mountain'—returned to dinner after his day in the streets in the midst of the leaders of the insurrection.

'There is not much credit due to the army,' he said sullenly. 'It has been an easy victory. The societies have not stirred.'

Then the Prince de Canino entered with an Italian demagogue who acted as his aide-de-camp, and made mysterious propositions aside to King Jerome. The old man was wily and cool. After dinner he sent one of his officers to the Élysée to obtain news of the President, and, above all, to see how matters stood. The officer, before leaving, had agreed with his companions, who detested the atmosphere of intrigue and of hateful ingratitude in which they were placed, and could hardly show the commonest forms of civility to the Prince of the Mountain, that the report should be in any case an unwelcome one. He found the President's rooms filled with distinguished people—Marshal Exelmans was surrounded with generals, all talking in the highest spirits.

MM. Sénard and Marie had applied it indiscriminately to all who had been arrested since that time, on denunciations more or less well founded or on suspicions more or less justifiable.'—*Les Hommes de* 1851. Par Vermorel.

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As for the Prince, he was presiding over a council of his Ministers. The news was not welcome at the Invalides. It was becoming clear that the cause of the President was secure against the attacks of mobs led by representatives of the Mountain and stimulated by Orleanists and Legitimists. Prince Napoleon hereupon made a last move against his victorious cousin. He persuaded King Jerome to write a letter to the President, imploring him to complete the restoration of universal suffrage by making the vote secret—a course which the President and his Ministers had already adopted. Prince Napoleon hoped to be able to show that this reform had been adopted under the pressure of his representations; but he was disappointed.

Jerome's messenger found the Prince President smoking his cigarette in the *salon vert* of the Élysée. As he opened the letter he asked how his uncle was; and having read it, he smiled, then wrote an answer, in which he informed his good relatives of the Invalides that a resolution had been taken more than an hour before making the vote of the 20th by ballot. Prince Louis never mentioned Prince Napoleon's name, being thoroughly informed on the proceedings of this misguided, impracticable, disloyal, but intelligent and cultivated kinsman. He distinguished clearly between father and son, and believed that his uncle wished merely to appear as a benevolent intermediary between the people and the Élysée. Jerome played his cards well. In the event of his nephew's defeat he would appear as the adviser who had besought him to put entire confidence in the people; in the event of his success, he would assume the part of the courageous old man who had ridden by his side through the streets on the morning of the 2nd.

Let us now see what was the fate of the members of the Parliamentary Opposition, and of the Socialist chiefs, whom De Saint-Arnaud and De Morny felt bound to put

under lock and key on the morning of the 2nd. M. Thiers, after a few days at Mazas, where he was treated with marked consideration, was conducted beyond the Rhine frontier and left at liberty. On the 3rd Generals Bedeau, Eugène Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, and Le Flô, Colonel Charras, and MM. Royer and Baze were transferred by De Saint-Arnaud, without consulting De Morny, to the Château of Ham. Here the prisoners were treated with extreme leniency and attention, had access to their families, and within a month were set at liberty. On January 8 General Changarnier went to Mons, Colonel Charras to Brussels, General Le Flô to Boulogne, and M. Baze to Aix-la-Chapelle. On the 9th General Lamoricière, who had been detained by a slight indisposition, set out for Cologne, and General Bedeau for Mons. Generals Changarnier, Bedeau, and Lamoricière were soon afterwards handsomely housed as the guests of Count Louis de Mérode in his hôtel at Brussels.

The representatives who were sent to Mont Valérien and Vincennes had been liberated within a few days, many within a few hours, of their arrest.

CHAPTER VII.

THE JACQUERIE IN THE PROVINCES.

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'On the fourth night after the *coup d'état*,' Captain Gronow remarks, 'my daughter and myself were present at a ball, given by the Duchess of Hamilton in honour of the Prince President, at the Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme. At ten o'clock precisely the President entered the ball-room, accompanied only by Count Bacciocchi, when a quadrille was formed; the Prince dancing with the Duchess of Hamilton, Lady Poltimore and the Duke of Hamilton being the *vis-à-vis*. The second quadrille soon followed, when the Prince chose the Princess Mathilde as his partner, Lord Poltimore and Lady Cowley making the *vis-à-vis*. The Prince appeared perfectly cool and collected; he conversed with a great many persons, but more particularly with Lord Cowley, who had only arrived in Paris that morning to fill his post of British Ambassador. Lords Francis Gordon, Strangford, Halliburton, and Ernest Bruce, with their wives, were present, together with many foreigners of distinction. The instant the clock struck twelve, Count Bacciocchi, in a low whisper, said that the Prince's carriage was ready; whereupon the Duke of Hamilton, taking two wax candles, conducted his imperial guest downstairs, and handed him into his plain brougham. On the return of the Duke to the ball-room, he observed to several friends who had collected round him: "How extraordinary! there were neither military nor police

in the courtyard of the hôtel to protect the President in case of danger!" In fact, the Prince returned at midnight, without an escort, to the Élysée in a one-horse brougham.

'And this is the man whom Mr. Kinglake, in his account of the *coup d'état*, has insinuated to be constantly occupied in guarding himself against attacks from assassination, and living in fear and trembling!'

Paris, after a few skirmishes on the night of the 4th and during the 5th, in which many more arrests of leaders of insurrection were made, became calm, and hastened to resume both its business and its pleasures. The Prince President drove home from the Duchess of Hamilton's through quiet streets, from which the military had disappeared. The watchful De Morny kept companies and battalions under cover in various quarters where he or De Maupas had reason to suspect that sparks of sedition still lurked; but after the 5th no disorders whatever took place in the streets.

This rapid and decisive triumph had not been obtained without an extraordinary display of foresight, courage, and energy; nor were its consequences fully secured without the infliction of much suffering, in many cases wholly unmerited. M. Émile Ollivier, in his account of his political life, paints a truthful picture of the hardships endured by M. de Morny's obscurer prisoners. It is a painful one; but it is not charged with venom and falsehood, like the pages of Chenu, Hippolyte Magen, and a host of other hostile demagogic writers. The scenes in the Galerie des Girondins (at the Conciergerie), at Bicêtre, Sainte-Pélagie, and in the forts round about Paris, where the prisoners were crowded promiscuously and slept upon straw, were painful in the extreme; and without, the weeping women and children made the hardest heart ache. Many among the prisoners were only vain talkers

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or wine-shop braggarts, destined to be set at liberty in a few days; others, like Démosthènes Ollivier,[1] were uncompromising enemies of the President and of the Monarchic factions, whose removal from their centres of influence was necessary in the cause of public order, and was, indeed, a measure of mercy towards themselves. Their numbers made their sufferings inevitable, for it was impossible to effect proper and seasonable preparations in a day for such hosts of prisoners. But the crowds were quickly sifted and reduced. Some were tried by court martial; the dangerous leaders were sent off, some to Cayenne and some to Lambessa. M. de Morny had secured his hold on the broom-handle, to use his own jest, and was determined that the broom should sweep clean. Wholesale transportation was resorted to, in order to break up the centres of the Socialists. The orders that emanated from the Interior to the departments where disturbances had occurred were severe and peremptory. M. de Morny desired to strike terror in the hearts of the revolutionary camps throughout the country by swift and uncompromising action. He met the *jacquerie*, which showed its head in many places, with the military, acting under stern orders, and with mixed tribunals that pronounced swift and inexorable judgments.

The secret societies in the departments saw in the *coup d'état* the frustration of a Reign of Terror which they were preparing for the following spring. The descendants of Jacques Bonhomme promised to be worthy of him, and to be, indeed, very close imitators of the wild, misguided peasants, the memory of whose diabolical deeds lived for

[1] Démosthènes Ollivier, the father of Émile, was charged with having said that he would hunt down the President like a wild beast. He was set at liberty, as we have shown, only on February 18, at the intercession of M. Vieillard with the President, backed by Prince Napoleon and his father, although his discharge was ordered on the 9th—such was the confusion in the forts and prisons.

centuries in the districts through which they passed. The fight of 1852 was to be a war of the peasant against the proprietor, of the cottage against the castle, and the horrors chronicled in the pages of Froissart were to be re-enacted, and thus the foundations of a Red Republic were to be laid.[1] The societies chose edifying names. There were the *Philanthropiques*, the *Chasseurs Montagnards*, the *Humanitaires*, the *Jeune Gloire*, the *Vieille Gloire*, the *Malcontents* and the *Francs-Hommes*, the *Voraces*, the *Petite Montagne* and the *Grande*. They were all affiliated and owed allegiance to the Revolutionary Government of Socialism in Paris, which government was in correspondence with centres of the Socialist revolution in various parts of Europe. In the south these societies pretended to be harmless clubs or trade societies; in the north they affected the form of co-operative or mutual benefit societies; but in 1849, when the law of June 19 had empowered the Government to close political clubs and societies, the Reds exercised their ingenuity in the foundation of many secret associations, under the guidance of expert agitators, and often under the direction of Deputies of the Mountain.[2] Tramps and beggars were the agents whom the Socialist leaders of Paris used to communicate with their departmental associates; and they had also their regular travellers, whose business it was to form local associations, and who transmitted the secret signs and mysterious seals by which the freemasonry of Socialism was spread. In this way a Red network was drawn over France, from Calais to Marseilles, and was in the hands of skilful demagogues, who had settled that May 13, 1852, was to

[1] See *Histoire de la Jacquerie de 1851*. Par Ernest du Barail. Paris, 1852.

[2] *Ministère de la Justice. Résumé des Documents judiciaires conservés aux Archives de la Direction criminelle. Travail sur le Mouvement démagogique antérieur au 2 décembre.* Date du 1er décembre 1851.

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be *le jour palingénésique des nations*. Then all debts were to be abolished, the people were to burn every document on which they could lay their hands, and individual property was to have an end. But many were impatient to begin. A meeting was held in Paris on October 31, 1851, at which the representative, Émile de Girardin, and delegates from the provinces were present. It was resolved that the great day was to be April 29, when the people were to rise *en masse* throughout France, or before, should the Assembly or the Prince attempt a *coup d'état*.

The means were not neglected. The secret societies were systematically arming, and powder was being clandestinely manufactured and imported from Belgium and Switzerland on an extensive scale; and every day the police discovered hidden stores of arms.

It was against this formidable machinery of the demagogues that the Minister of the Interior had to operate on the morrow of the *coup d'état*. The extent of it, and the strength of it, must be considered in taking into consideration the repressive measures which were employed, and the numbers of prisoners who were transported.[1]

M. Chéron de Villiers, the secretary of the prefect of the Haute Vienne, at Limoges, at the time of the *coup d'état*, has put on record his personal experiences as an official who was concerned in the suppression of the provincial demagogic movement. At Limoges and its vicinity the working population had been deeply imbued with the spirit of Socialism. There were active and courageous local leaders, who preached to their dupes that their deliverance from poverty and want was at hand, and that the Prolétaire was about to be the governor of society. When the news of the *coup d'état* reached Limoges the

[1] The number is ridiculously overstated by Mr. Kinglake.

anarchists rose and traversed the rural districts crying 'Vive la Rouge' and 'Vive la Sociale,' seized a few churches, sounded the tocsin, raised the Red flag, and shouted that the country was in danger—'À mort les dictateurs!' But the peasants gave only an uncertain and feeble answer to the leaders, who were townsfolk; and Jacques Bonhomme's descendants entered an appearance only here and there; but where they showed themselves in numbers the most dastardly crimes were committed—as in the Jura, Provence, and Languedoc, where castles were pillaged, and where robbery and assassination were rife for some days. In one place a wine-shop keeper, at the head of a host of armed peasants, demanded the heads of 300 of the notables of the neighbourhood, and that the town should be given up to pillage for three hours. At Clamecy the insurgents were masters of the town for a day, and committed horrible atrocities. A curé was put to the torture, an advocate was covered with bayonet wounds, a schoolmaster was deliberately murdered, a child was killed in its mother's arms, a gendarme was slowly put to death by miscreants who deliberately watched his sufferings. The Red flag floated over all, and the insurgents shouted 'Vive Barbès! Death to the rich!'

When flying columns of soldiers had dispersed the insurrectionary bands, and secured the ringleaders of this widespread attack upon society, the Ministers of Justice, of War, and of the Interior intimated to the prefects that the Prince President had resolved to appoint mixed commissions (consisting of the Procureur Général as the Procureur of the Republic, of the general commanding the division, and the prefect of the department), except when the accused were soldiers to try the prisoners. The penalties were transportation to a penal settlement (which could be inflicted only in the case of a convicted criminal),

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expulsion from the territory, forced residence in a distant department, and surveillance of the police.[1] M. de Villiers reports that in his department the three lesser penalties only were imposed (except in the case of two old convicts), and these were mostly remitted shortly afterwards. Perceiving that even the banishment of many who had been led or forced to take part in the insurrection led to the misery of their families and to grave inconveniences in many industrial centres, the Prince, when the mixed commissions had done their work, sent generals, in whose loyalty he could thoroughly trust, as commissioners, charged with powers to remit punishments on an extensive scale. These commissioners reduced nearly every sentence which they did not entirely remit. 'Compare,' M. Chéron de Villiers remarks, 'the results of these terrible mixed commissions with the summary condemnations pronounced by General Cavaignac and the National Assembly against the insurgents of June 1848; read in the 'Siècle' the interminable list of transportations, which had to undergo so many corrections when the condemned had been sent to Cayenne; remember that the Socialist rising, which was limited to Paris in 1848, might, through the secret societies, have overspread

[1] These mixed commissions were appointed by Presidential decree on the 3rd of February, 1852—that is, two months after the nation had conferred on Prince Louis the power to govern in its name—and had therefore a strictly legal origin. Their judgments were afterwards formally ratified by the Legislative Body. These tribunals were not competent to judge men for capital offences, yet M. Hugo has not scrupled to talk about 'the blood shed by the mixed commissions.' They were seats o mercy in comparison with the Thiers-Dufaure law against the Commune (called by the Radicals the 'law of blood'), under which a man might be taken, tried, have his appeal rejected, and be shot within forty-eight hours. M. Renouard, who endeavoured ineffectually in 1876, in the Serre-Willemot case, to obtain a formal condemnation of these mixed commissions by the First Court of Justice of France, has been rewarded for his anti-Bonapartist zeal by his appointment as procureur général of the Court of Cassation, and of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

France in 1851—and it will be easy to see in which case moderation was shown. For example, has a single instance of an irreparable error committed by the mixed commissions been shown? Their judgments were undoubtedly exemplary, but they were indispensable. They helped to reassure alarmed France, and to re-establish social order. There is no exaggeration in this statement.' This is the testimony of an honourable man of moderate opinions, who saw the mixed commissions and the military commissioners at work, and who put his testimony on record sixteen years after the event.

It is surely worthier of credence than the fantastic and extravagant accounts of the doings of these commissions to be found in Republican histories of the Republic and the Second Empire.

M. de Lamartine said of the insurrection of June 1848: 'For the victory to be prompt, decisive, and crushing, consequently less bloody, it was necessary to crush the mass of insurgents by the mass of bayonets.'[1] The authors of the *coup d'état* held the same opinion in 1851; but after the victory more mercy was shown to the vanquished in the latter than in the former year.[2]

[1] After the days of June there were, according to M. Odilon Barrot, between ten and twelve thousand captives in the prisons of Paris.

[2] See Appendix IV.

CHAPTER VIII.

PUBLIC OPINION ON THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

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THE tide of public opinion on the *coup d'état*, in France and throughout Europe, with the exception of Egland, set strongly in its favour, even before the national vote of December 20 had condoned Prince Louis's violation of his oath to maintain a Constitution which the Assembly had already violated and fundamentally vitiated. The pages of the 'Almanach impérial' showed that many of the important members of the old Assembly, who had attended the famous meeting which the soldiers dispersed, quickly rallied to the new authority which embodied the regularly expressed will of the nation. The Marquis de la Rochejacquelein honestly declared that in his conscience he believed that the *coup d'état* was the only possible issue society had from the dangers of the situation, and he exclaimed: 'What! the President was a dishonest man in overreaching his enemies, while they would have been honest men if they had overreached him and thrown him into Vincennes! Really this cannot be maintained. Was the Prince right in judging that we were advancing towards chaos? Did he adopt the only means of saving us? For myself, I am convinced that he did.'[1] M. de Broglie declared that the *coup d'état* saved France from one of the most formidable crises that can hang over a nation.[2]

[1] *La France en* 1853. Par le Marquis de la Rochejacquelein.

[2] *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, 1851.

M. Molé described the position as a struggle between civilisation and barbarism. The Count d'Estourmiel, in his 'Derniers Souvenirs,' wrote: 'Let the elect of December 10 seize the reins of government, on the condition that he keeps them. I put no other condition.'

In November M. John Lemoinne had said, in the 'Journal des Débats,' that society did not fear a *coup d'état*, but regretted that it did not happen. M. de Falloux approved the act which committed him to prison for a few days. M. Louis Veuillot wrote in the 'Univers,' on December 19: 'Since December 2 there is a government and there is an army—a head and an arm—in France. Under the shelter of this double force every honest heart beats tranquilly.' At the end of January the 'Gazette de France' besought its readers to take an active part in the electoral councils, and to assist the new power, which, with the support of Providence, was engaged in the reparation of administrative and financial disorders, in the destruction of factions, and in the scattering of all the revolutionary elements which had been brought together, to burst in 1852. M. de Forcade, in the 'Revue des Deux Mondes' of December, rejoiced that society had been delivered from the civil war which the Revolution of 1848 had carefully organised for every village.[1]

The Continental papers were, in the main, in favour of the Prince, and some declared that the *coup d'état* was grander in conception and execution than the 18th Brumaire, and that Prince Louis Napoleon had proved himself to be a born ruler of men.

[1] The letters and addresses of congratulation on December 2 which were showered upon the Élysée were gathered into six quarto volumes, of some 850 pages each, under the title *Recueil des Adhésions adressées au Prince Président à l'occasion de l'Acte du 2 Décembre.* The *coup d'état;* judged by the light of these ponderous volumes, was an act of national salvation.

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In the course of a letter to Lord Normanby (December 16, 1851) Lord Palmerston said:—

'If your Excellency wishes to know my own opinion on the change which has taken place in France, it is that such a state of antagonism had arisen between the President and the Assembly that it was becoming every day more clear that their coexistence could not be of long duration; and it seemed to me better for the interests of France, and, through them, for the interests of Europe, that the power of the President should prevail, inasmuch as the continuance of his authority might afford a prospect of the maintenance of social order in France, whereas the divisions of opinions and parties in the Assembly appeared to betoken that their victory over the President would only be the starting-point for disastrous civil strife.

'Whether my opinion was right or wrong, it seems to be shared by persons interested in property in France, as far at least as the great and sudden rise in the Funds and other investments may be assumed to be indications of increasing confidence in the improved prospect of internal tranquillity in France.'

In a previous letter (December 3) Lord Palmerston had disposed of the moral of the *coup d'état*:—

'As to respect for the law and Constitution, which you say in your despatch of yesterday is habitual to Englishmen, that respect belongs to just and equitable laws, framed under a Constitution founded upon reason, and consecrated by its antiquity and by the memory of the long years of happiness which the nation has enjoyed under it. But it is scarcely a proper application of those feelings to require them to be directed to the day-before-yesterday tomfoolery, which the scatterbrained heads of Marrast and Tocqueville invented for the torment and perplexity of the French nation; and I must say that that

Constitution was more honoured by the breach than the observance.

'It was high time to get rid of such childish nonsense; and as the Assembly seemed to be resolved that it should not be got rid of quietly, and by deliberate alteration and amendment, I do not wonder that the President determined to get rid of them, as obstacles to all rational arrangement.

'If, indeed, as we suppose, they meant to strike a sudden blow at him, he was quite right on that ground also to knock them down first.'

Lord Palmerston's satisfaction at the success of the Prince President was heightened, no doubt, by the strong antipathy he had for the Orleans family; but this antipathy did not warp his judgment, as Mr. Theodore Martin, in his 'Life of the Prince Consort,' endeavours to demonstrate. Lord Palmerston was consistent in his view of all the transactions which related to the change in the Government of France.

Writing on December 18, Baron Stockmar remarked: 'That the *coup d'état*, by itself alone, has raised the prospects of the Bourbons, I cannot see. If the present paroxysm (the fear of the Red Republic) is once over in France, and the desire for constitutional freedom is again aroused, and Louis Napoleon shows himself incapable of satisfying it, then there might be a chance for the Bourbons, and therefore for the fusion. For the present, I should advise the Orleans to be as still and dumb as stones. Few Englishmen would rejoice at any prospect arising for them; they are hated by the Whigs, who do not trust them, and the whole family is considered to be ill-disposed towards England. People still recollect the Joinville pamphlet, after the year 1840, on an invasion of England, and therefore trust Joinville, the cleverest of them, the least. Thus the follies of a conceited youth

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revenge themselves on the ripened man in his misfortunes.'

Baron Stockmar and his friends, it should be remembered, were more strongly prejudiced against Louis Napoleon than Lord Palmerston was against the Orleans family. Moreover, the Baron and his allies were avowed Orleanists. In a letter written by Stockmar two days after the *coup d'état* he attributed that event to the fear with which the candidature of the Prince de Joinville inspired the President, and speculated on his alliance with the absolute Powers in a war against England—showing herein how little he knew of the President, who, throughout his presidency, had seized every opportunity of cultivating the friendship of this country.

The Baron went on to say that out of the elements with which the success of the *coup d'état* had been secured the Devil only could form a government, and he could not believe in the possibility of a permanent rule of his Black Majesty. He gave the following reasons for considering the final failure of Prince Louis as probable :—

'1. His living in the "Idées napoléoniennes" of his uncle, which could only lead to anachronisms.

'2. That the fear of the Reds, which formed the strength of Napoleon, would gradually be recognised as exaggerated.

'3. The difficulty of satisfying the high-wrought expectations of the army and the masses.

'4. The certain revival of a wish for popular liberties and constitutional government.' [1]

The fact was that the Baron and his intimates saw with alarm the haste with which the Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna had greeted Prince Louis after the *coup d'état*, and gave ear to all the wild rumours of alliances for the

[1] *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar*, vol. ii. p. 457.

readjustment of the map of Europe which court and diplomatic quidnuncs had busily spread abroad. The Baron, who protested that all these notes of alarm were so much idle gossip, was much disturbed, if not really alarmed, by them. He was a very mild constitutionalist, but a very determined foe of all revolutionary movements. His influence was used to effect the downfall of Palmerston, who had expressed sympathy for Kossuth on his arrival in England, and had generally favoured Liberal Continental movements. He thought 'the man insane' in the autumn, and in December said: 'He has been guilty of follies which confirm me more and more in my former opinion that he is not right in his mind.' This judgment on one of the clearest and brightest intelligences, at its clearest and brightest epoch, must seriously affect any candid man's estimate of the reputation Baron Stockmar long enjoyed as a wise and deep judge of men.

Lord Palmerston's unreserved and informal approval of the *coup d'état* led to his dismissal from office, accompanied by a formal expression of the displeasure of his Sovereign at his independent manner of transacting the business of the Foreign Office; but he was not a man to suffer tamely, nor to refrain from a thorough explanation. In a letter to Lord John Russell he recapitulated and amplified his former statements and opinions, and showed that he was not the only Cabinet Minister who approved the 2nd of December:—

'The opinion which I entertain of this grave and important matter, and which, no doubt, I expressed, is that so decided an antagonism had grown up between the President and the Assembly that it was to be foreseen that they could not long coexist, and that each was planning the overthrow of the other—either meaning aggression or believing that their course was only self-defence. There are circumstances which seem to countenance the

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supposition that the Assembly intended, in the course of that very week, to have struck a blow at the President, and to have deprived him of his position. Now, as between the President and the Assembly, it seems to me that the interests of France, and, through them, the interests of the rest of Europe, were better consulted by the prevalence of the President than they would have been by the prevalence of the Assembly; and the great rise which has taken place in the French Funds—from 91 to 102—together with the sudden spring which has been made by commerce in general, seem to show that the French people in general are of the same opinion, and that what has happened has inspired the nation with a feeling of confidence which they had not before.

'Indeed, to account for this we have only to look at what each of the two parties offered to France as the result of their victory over the other party. The President had to offer unity of authority and of purpose, and the support of the whole army against the anarchists for the maintenance of order. The Assembly had to offer immediate division among themselves, a division in the army, and, in all probability, civil war, during which the anarchists would have had immense opportunities and facilities for carrying their desolating schemes into execution. If the Assembly had had any acceptable ruler to propose to the nation instead of Louis Napoleon, they might, with their opinions and preferences, have been acting as true patriots by overthrowing the President. But there were scarcely more than three alternatives which they could have proposed. First, Henry V., who represents the principle of Legitimacy, and who has a devoted and a considerable party in France; but that party is still a minority of the nation, and a minority cannot overturn the majority. Secondly, they might have proposed the Comte de Paris, but he is only about twelve years old;

and a six years' minority with a regency, and with Thiers as Prime Minister, was not a proposition which a nation in the state in which the French are was at all likely to accept. Thirdly, they might have offered the Prince de Joinville as a President, or three of the generals as a Commission of Government; but neither of these arrangements would have been acceptable to the whole nation. The success of the Assembly would, in all human probability, have been civil war, while the success of the President promised the re-establishment of order.

'This bitter antagonism between the President and the Assembly was partly the consequence of the arrangements of 1848, and partly the result of faults on both sides, but chiefly on the side of the Assembly.

'It may safely be affirmed that a long duration of a centralised as contradistinguished from a federal Republic, in a great country like France, with a large standing army, and the seat of Government not in an unimportant place like Washington, but in a great capital which exercises almost paramount influence over the whole country, is a political impossibility, let the arrangement of such a Republic be ever so well or so wisely constructed.

'But the arrangements of 1848 greatly increased that general impossibility, and, indeed, the work of Messrs. Marrast and Tocqueville would more properly be called a dissolution than a constitution, for they brought the political organisation of France to the very brink of anarchy.

. . . . . .

'The proposal of the President to restore universal suffrage was evidently intended for the purpose of securing for him such an overwhelming number of votes that the Assembly would not have set his election aside. The Assembly tried to parry this by various schemes, either projected or actually put forward. One plan was a

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law attaching punishment to any elector who might vote for an ineligible candidate; but this, I believe, was not actually brought forward. Another was what was called the Questeur proposal, which went to place a portion of the army under the orders of the Assembly. This indeed was negatived, but it showed what its proposers intended. Then came the proposal to declare it high treason in an existing President to take any steps to procure his re-election—a law which, if it had passed, would obviously have placed the President at the mercy of the Assembly, unless he could rely upon a sufficient portion of the army to fight against that part of it which might go over to the Assembly. It is said, with what truth I cannot tell, that it was the intention of the leaders of the majority of the Assembly, if that law had been carried, immediately to have arrested, within the walls and on the spot, such of the Ministers as were members—among whom was the Minister of War—and to have also endeavoured to send the President to Vincennes, so far as I know; at least it was told to me on the Tuesday or Wednesday that those who were about the Royal Family at Claremont expected something which they considered favourable to their interests to happen at Paris before the end of that week. I mean that this expectation had been expressed in the course of the week preceding the 2nd of this month.

'It seems to me, then, it is fair to suppose that Louis Napoleon may have acted from mixed motives. There is no doubt that he was impelled by ambition, and by a rooted belief, which he is well known to have entertained from a very early age, that he was destined to govern France. He may also have felt that, in the present deplorable state of society in France, he was much more capable of promoting the interests of the country than his antagonists were; and a man even with less personal

ambition might, in his situation, have thought *salus Reipublicæ suprema lex.*

'His justification will, no doubt, very much depend upon the degree of proof which he may be able to adduce that he was acting at the moment in self-defence, and was only anticipating an impending blow, and also upon the use which he may make of the ascendency which he has acquired.'

'In a subsequent letter to his brother, Sir William Temple, British Minister at Naples, Lord Palmerston gave a frank explanation of his dismissal, in his own downright honest way, over which Absolutism on the Continent was everywhere rejoicing. He remarked at the same time: 'The President could offer to France settled government, with order and internal tranquillity; the Assembly had no eligible candidate to offer in the room of the President. Henry V. had only a minority with him, and could not with that govern the majority of the nation. The Comte de Paris is only about twelve years old, and France could not now accept a regency of six or eight years' duration, with a foreign and Protestant princess as Regent, and Thiers as Prime Minister. The Triumvirate, of the Generals Cavaignac, Changarnier, Lamoricière, would be military despotism; and Joinville as President would be a political solecism. Any one of these arrangements would have been civil war, and local and temporary anarchy; and the Assembly had nothing else to offer.'

Then, as to the opinion of Lord Palmerston's colleagues on the *coup d'état*: 'On Wednesday, December 4, we had a small evening party at our house. At that party John Russell and Walewsky were, and they had a conversation on the *coup d'état*, in which Johnny expressed his opinion, which Walewsky tells me was in substance and result pretty nearly the same as what I had said the day before, though, as he observed, John Russell is not so

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"expansif" as I am. But further, on Friday, the 6th, Walewsky dined at John Russell's, and there met Lansdowne and Charles Wood; and in the course of that evening John Russell, Lansdowne, and Charles Wood all expressed their opinions on the *coup d'état*, and those opinions were, if anything, rather more strongly favourable than mine had been. Moreover, Walewsky met Lord Grey riding in the Park, and Grey's opinion was likewise expressed, and was to the same effect. It is obvious that the reason assigned for my dismissal was a mere pretext, eagerly caught at for want of any good reason. The real ground was a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family, Austria, Prussia, Saxony and Bavaria, and in some degree also of the present Prussian Government.'

Baron Stockmar's correspondence about this time helps to confirm the impression which Lord Palmerston entertained that those Powers had for a long time 'effectually poisoned the mind of the Queen and the Prince' against him.

Lord Palmerston was, however, occasionally a dangerous because an impetuous Minister. Just before the *coup d'état* he received deputations in Downing Street presenting addresses of thanks for his conduct towards 'the illustrious patriot and exile,' Kossuth, in the course of which the Emperors of Austria and Russia were described as odious and detestable assassins, and merciless tyrants and despots; and he replied in a liberal spirit that satisfied the friends of freedom in Europe, but left the Queen in a painful position towards her allies. This conduct on the part of her Foreign Secretary was under the consideration of the Cabinet, at the Queen's request, when the *coup d'état* happened. Lord John Russell had just written to his colleague, urging the necessity of 'a guarded conduct in the present very critical condition of

Europe,' when his fresh indiscretion was made known at Windsor. The coincidence was unfortunate, since it brought about a result at which the friends of Absolutism in Europe rejoiced. Mr. Murray wrote from the British Embassy at Vienna that the news of Palmerston's dismissal had been received with the most profound regret by the Liberal party in Austria, and that the vulgar triumph of Schwarzenberg knew no bounds. From Madrid Lord Howden at once sent in his resignation to Lord Granville, Lord Palmerston's successor. Nor can we perceive how Lord Palmerston's fall—albeit the result of his own irregularity in his relations with the Crown and his colleagues—improved, as Mr. Theodore Martin, in his 'Life of the Prince Consort,' asserts that it did improve, 'our diplomatic intercourse with the Continental Powers.' 'The circumstances attending it,' Mr. Martin remarks, 'could not fail to raise distrust on the part of the Prince President,' who was for a time under the impression that it might lead to a change in the friendly relations between England and France, which he was himself bent on promoting. He was soon relieved of this unfounded apprehension; but a remark made by him on the day the tidings reached Paris of the removal of Lord Palmerston was most significant: 'La chute de Lord Palmerston est le coup le plus grave que j'ai reçu; c'est le seul ami sincère que j'avais; autant qu'il était Ministre l'Angleterre n'avait point d'alliés.' The Prince obviously meant that England would have no alliance against him, and not that her *entente cordiale* with him would isolate her in Europe. He had already given England proofs that he sought not the friendship of Russia and Austria, which was spontaneously and warmly offered to him on the morrow of the *coup d'état*, but the goodwill and alliance of England, with that arch-enemy of Absolutism Palmerston as her spokesman.

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The hearty support which the Prince President had given to the Great Exhibition when the Continental Powers held aloof, 'from an apprehension that contact with English institutions might open dangerous lines of opinion in the minds of their subjects,' had, indeed, touched the Prince Consort. Mr. Martin remarks:—

'It [the Exhibition] accorded with his [the President's] own settled policy of cultivating the most intimate political and commercial relations with England, and he spared no pains to secure its being regarded with cordial interest by the leading manufacturers of France. . . . Great commercial advantages were the immediate results on both sides. At the same time a friendliness of intercourse, not unimportant to the peace and prosperity of both countries, grew up out of the personal knowledge and the exchange of courtesies for which the Exhibition gave occasion. Each country thenceforth knew the other better, and much of the old lingering jealousy of one another began to disappear.'

Lord Palmerston was the Minister to promote and deepen this friendliness. He was a statesman filled with a passionate love of his country, and his heart had warmed towards the French ruler who had shown an alliance of the two foremost nations of the earth to be the basis of his foreign policy. But Lord Palmerston's justification came in good time, when a cloud, then no bigger than a man's hand, had overspread Europe with gloom. In October 1854 Baron Stockmar wrote:—

'It has been Palmerston's maxim for a long time, that an alliance between France and England could hold the whole of the rest of Europe in check. From this his maxim, and from his passionate hatred of the Orleans, I explain to myself his wild experiment of publicly approving the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon immediately after its success, which was contrary to his duty as

Minister; and his attempt at establishing a political understanding with the Napoleons, in spite of the general condemnation of the events of December. In order to be just I must admit that he, at that time, saw more keenly into the future than all of us, as we saw through glasses darkened by indignation at the *coup d'état*. The Russian madness certainly made the Franco-English alliance a political necessity, and Palmerston may justly say that he recognised that necessity sooner than we. He certainly had the better of us.'

CHAPTER IX.

DECEMBER 20, 1851.

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THE famous letter which the Count de Montalembert addressed to the electors of France, through the papers, on the duty of citizens in regard to the Prince President's appeal to the nation, set forth the case between the Prince and France in a clear light. The letter was dated December 12:—

'I receive every day letters consulting me on the proper course to follow in present circumstances, and especially as to the Ballot, which commences on the 20th inst., in order to respond to the appeal made by the President to the French people. It is physically impossible for me to write to each of the persons who do me the honour to address me, and yet I should be grieved to reply by silence and an apparent indifference to the confidence manifested towards me, and which has been gained for me by twenty years' political struggles in the cause of the Church and of society. Permit me to express, through the medium of your journal, my opinion.

'I begin by declaring that the act of December 2 has put to flight the whole of the Revolutionists, the whole of the Socialists, and the whole of the bandits of France and Europe; and that alone is, in my opinion, a more than sufficient reason for all honest men to rejoice, and for those who have been most mortified to console themselves. I do not enter into the question as to whether the *coup d'état* (which had been foreseen by

everyone) could be executed at another moment, and in another manner; to do so I should have to go back to the causes which produced it, and to give my opinion on persons who cannot now reply to me. I do not pretend to guarantee the future any more than to judge of the past. I only look to the present—that is to say, the vote to be delivered on Sunday week.

'There are three courses open—the negative vote, neutrality, and the affirmative vote.

'To vote against Louis Napoleon would be to sanction the Socialist revolution, which, for the present at least, is the only one which can take the place of the actual Government. It would be to invite the dictatorship of the Reds, instead of the dictatorship of a Prince who has rendered for three years incomparable services to the cause of order and Catholicism. It would be (admitting the most favourable and the least probable hypothesis) to re-establish that Tower of Babel which people called the National Assembly, and which, in spite of the honourable and distinguished men it counted in such great numbers, was profoundly divided in the midst of peace and legal order, and which—there is no doubt of the fact—would be powerless in the presence of the formidable crisis we are now exposed to.

'To abstain from voting would be to belie all our antecedents. It would be to fail in the duty we have always recommended and fulfilled under the Monarchy of July as under the Republic; it would be to abdicate the mission of honest men at the very moment that mission is the most imperative and the most beneficial. I highly respect the scruples which may suggest to many honourable minds the idea of abstaining; but I know also great politicians, who are unscrupulous, and who, after having brought us to the point where we now are—after having condemned us to the loss of all our

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liberties by the abuse they have made of them, or allowed to be made of them—now come and preach to us that we must make a vacuum round the Government. I respect scruples; I protest against tactics. I can conceive nothing more immoral or more stupid; I defy any man alive to justify such conduct to his conscience or to history. History will tell how all France, after the ignoble surprise of February 24, recognised the authority of the men of the Hôtel de Ville, because they offered a chance of escape from the abyss that they themselves had opened. Let those chivalrous persons—if any such there are—who in 1848 protested against the destruction of royalty; against the brutal expulsion of the two Chambers; against the disarming of the army; against the usurpation of every branch of the Government; against the violation of every law—let such persons, I repeat, claim the right to protest and abstain from voting: I have no objection. But I refuse to recognise such a right in any one of those who sent representatives to take the place of the Deputies hunted from their benches by a horde of barbarians; to any of those who themselves sat there, and who so sat to proclaim that the Government had merited well of the country, and to vote for the banishment of the House of Bourbon. The conscience that accepted such a yoke, for fear of something worse, surely cannot feel any serious difficulty in confirming the power that restored order and security in 1848, and which has alone preserved us from anarchy in 1851.

'The instinct of the masses is no more led astray now than then. Louis Napoleon will be in 1852, as in 1848, the elect of the nation. Such being the case, I believe there is nothing more imprudent—I should say more insane—for men of religious feeling and men of order, in a country like ours, than to put themselves in opposition to the wishes of the nation, where these mean nothing

contrary to the law of God, or to the fundamental conditions of society. There are far too many among us, men worthy of respect, whose policy seems to be to act quite in opposition to the general opinion. When this country went mad for liberty and Parliamentary institutions, these same men appealed to the absolute right of royalty; now that it is for the moment hungering for silence, calm, and authority, these same men would impose the sovereignty of the tribune and of discussion. If ever the country demand monarchy, the men I allude to will be condemned by such conduct to the perpetuation of the Republic.

'For those men who boldly declare that there is one sole right in political affairs, and that France can only be secured by one principle, I can, strictly speaking, understand the possibility of abstaining, provided these men also abstained in 1848. But for us who are Catholics above all, who have always professed that religion and society should coexist with all forms of government that do not exclude reason and the Catholic faith, I am unable to find a motive that can justify or excuse voluntary self-annihilation.

'I now come to the third course—namely, the affirmative vote. Now, to vote for Louis Napoleon is not to approve all he has done; it is only to choose between him and the total ruin of France. It does not mean that his government is the one we prefer to all others; it is simply to say that we prefer a prince who has given proofs of resolution and ability to those who are at this moment giving their proofs of murder and pillage. It is not to confound the Catholic Church with the cause of a party or family. It is to arm the temporal power, the only possible power at this day, with the necessary strength to vanquish the army of crime, to defend our churches, our homes, our wives, against those who respect

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nothing, who aim at the Court, who aim at the proprietor, and whose bullets do not spare the priest.

'It is not to sanction beforehand the errors or faults that a Government, fallible as every earthly institution is, may commit; it is to entrust to the chief whom the nation once chose for itself the right of preparing a Constitution which will certainly not be more dangerous or absurd than that which 900 representatives elected in 1848 bestowed on France, and against which I had the happiness to vote. I may add that, by returning to unity of power, without excluding the checks which are the first necessity of every Government, we get over the most difficult part of the way to a real social restoration—that of ideas and morals.

'I have just reperused the line you permitted me to insert in the "Univers" as a rallying-cry to our brothers in dismay on February 27, 1848, three days after the fall of the throne; I find there these words:—

'"The banner which we have planted outside of, and beyond all, political opinions is intact. We have not waited till to-day to profess our veneration for holy liberty, to declare war against all kinds of oppression and deceit; to proclaim that the Catholic cause, such as it has always been, and such as we have defended it, was not identified with any power, with any human cause. We love to think that the perseverance with which we have preached for eighteen years this sovereign independence of religious interests will aid French Catholics in understanding and accepting the new phase of society upon which we have entered. None among them has the right to abdicate."

'I have nothing to add to or take from these words.

'Observe that I do not advocate absolute confidence or unlimited devotedness. I give myself unreservedly to no one; I profess no idolatry—neither that of the force of arms nor that of the reason of the people. I limit

myself to the search of possible good, and to choose in the midst of the shocks with which God visits us that which is least repugnant to the dignity of a Christian and the good sense of a citizen. CHAP. IX.

'If Louis Napoleon were an unknown person, I should unquestionably hesitate to confer on him such power and such responsibility; but without entering into the question of his policy for three years, I do not forget the great religious acts which have marked his government, so long as concord existed between the two powers of the State—the liberty of instruction guaranteed; the Pope re-established by French arms; the Church restored to its councils, its synods, the plenitude of its dignity; the gradual augmentation of its colleges, its communities, its works of salvation and mercy.

'Without him I search in vain for a system, a form which can secure to us the conservation and development of similar benefits; I only behold the wide gulf of Socialism. My choice is made. I am for authority against revolt, for preservation against destruction, for Society against Socialism, for the *possible* freedom of good against the *certain* liberty of evil; and, in the mighty struggle between the two powers which divide the world, I believe that in acting thus I am, as I ever have been, for Catholicism against Revolution.

'CH. DE MONTALEMBERT.' [1]

The foregoing letter was in harmony with the views of the Count de Chambord. The Committee of Twelve

[1] It is not necessary to enter at length into the reasons which presently turned M. de Montalembert's support into uncompromising and violent opposition. Prince Louis Napoleon's subsequent relations with the Church necessarily made the Count de Montalembert one of his fierce enemies; but it in no way justified the language in which the Count indulged, nor the tenour of Mrs. Oliphant's remarks on the subject. The Count was a much more rational friend of liberty in 1851 than he was in the later years of his life.

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who represented the Count's interests in France (of which M. de Montalembert was a member) directed all their correspondents to prevent a single vote from being recorded against the Prince President.[1] Later, in his 'Instructions' of April 27, 1852, the elder Bourbon said: 'The Royalists may—indeed, they should—assist the Government in the struggle it is maintaining against the anarchical doctrines of the Socialists; and should further crises unfortunately happen, they should once more show themselves to be the most zealous defenders of social order.'

The Legitimists, then, did not regard the Prince President as the author of wanton bloodshed in the streets of Paris, nor as an usurper resolved to impose his will on France at the point of the bayonet. How should they? On December 8 the Prince had addressed a proclamation to the people, calling upon them not to shed blood, but to make their will known through the ballot box on the 20th.

'Our troubles are at an end,' he said. 'Let the decision of the people be what it may, society is saved. The first part of my task is accomplished. I was convinced that an appeal to the nation to put an end to party conflicts would not put public tranquillity seriously in danger. Why should the people rise against me? If I no longer possess your confidence, if your opinions have changed, it is not necessary to have recourse to insurrection. An adverse vote in the electoral urn will suffice. I shall always respect the will of the people. But until

[1] Before the vote of December 20 *La Bretagne*, a Legitimist journal of St. Brieuc, published the following note:—

'M. de Montalembert, par une lettre du 8 décembre, nous autorise à declarer que le Comité de Douze, représentant en France les intérêts de M. le comte de Chambord, a recommandé à tous les correspondants de ne pas déposer un seul vote contre Louis-Napoléon. M. de Falloux lui a fait cette communication.'

the nation has spoken I shall spare no effort to put down factions. This task, however, has been made an easy one to me. On the one hand, it has been seen how rash it is to struggle against an army strong in discipline and animated by a sentiment of military honour and of devotion to the country; on the other, the calm bearing of the inhabitants of Paris, and the reprobation which they stamped on the rioters, have declared plainly enough the side on which the capital is ranged. . . . Let them remain convinced that my sole ambition is to assure the peace and prosperity of France. Let them continue to give assistance to the authorities, and the country will soon be able to accomplish in peace the solemn act which will inaugurate a new epoch of the Republic.'

The parties whose chiefs were dispersed and exiled were, nevertheless, secretly summoned to act against the Prince President. M. Thiers and his associates recommended their followers 'to create a vacuum about the Prince' by a general abstention from voting. The Reds also preached abstention. It was against this movement that M. de Montalembert's letter was directed; but his protest was not needed to stimulate the people. As the 20th approached, the spirit of the masses showed itself by unmistakable expressions. Employers addressed their workmen, calling upon them to support the cause of order; workmen drew themselves away from the professional agitators, and marched in serried ranks to the polling places. In the country districts entire communes voted for the Prince. Neither Royalists nor Orleanists nor Socialist chiefs were able to make way against the national *élan*. The country had had enough of their conspiracies and faction fights, and wanted a settled life—order outside the workshops, safety in the streets, and a firm and steady administration of the national affairs. All this the Government of the Prince President appeared

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to promise; and therefore the nation solemnly approved the act by which he had put an end to a factious Assembly and scattered the leaders of the Bourbons and the Socialists.[1] The numbers who voted on December 20 were 8,116,773; of these, 7,439,216 approved the deeds of December 2, and gave the author of them power to govern in the name of the nation.

When, on December 31, M. Billault, as president of the Consultative Commission, presented himself at the Élysée, at the head of the Commission, to make known to the Prince formally the result of the election, he said it was a testimony of approval of the wisdom and patriotism the Prince had manifested since December 10, 1848, given, 'with immense acclamation, by seven million four hundred and fifty thousand suffrages.' When had prince received so imposing an expression of the goodwill of a people?

'Take possession, Prince,' said the Consultative Commission, 'of this power which has been so gloriously

[1] Even M. Jules Favre, in a speech which he delivered in 1865, has borne testimony to the patriotism of the act of December 2:—

'Il faut constater ce grand événement, que le Prince, qui se trouvait alors maitre des destinées, je ne dirai pas du monde, mais du moins de la France, n'a pas imité l'exemple d'autres monarques victorieux.

'Ce n'est pas à la fortune, quelque grande qu'elle fût, qu'il a demandé la légitimité de son pouvoir: c'est au peuple.

'Alors qu'il était maitre de tout, il a voulu n'être maitre de rien.

'Il a, pour ainsi dire, abdiqué en face du principe devant lequel, comme base, le premier article que nous rencontrons est la souveraineté du peuple, et avec celle-ci, comme une conséquence nécessaire, la consécration—ou plutôt permettez-moi de le dire, la restauration—du suffrage universel.

'Ce grand acte est marqué d'un caractère tellement lumineux que je m'étonne qu'on ne puisse pas apercevoir que la révolution dont je parle—le coup d'état du 2 décembre 1851—a été dirigée, non pas contre les amants exagérés de la liberté, mais contre ceux, au contraire, qui voulaient la mener en arrière.

'Cela est si vrai que cette révolution a pris pour symbole—et il ne peut pas y en avoir de plus éclatant après la souveraineté du peuple—la liberté électorale, représentée par l'anéantissement de la loi du 31 mai, qui l'avait limitée.'—*Journal officiel.*

conferred upon you. Use it to raise wise institutions, the bases of which the people have consecrated by their votes. Re-establish in France the principle of authority, which has been so rudely shaken by our continued agitations through sixty years. Combat without ceasing those anarchical passions which arise at the foundation of society. . . . On December 2, Prince, you took for symbol France regenerated by the Revolution of 1789 and organised by the Emperor—that is to say, a wise and well-ordered liberty, authority strong and respected by all. Let your wisdom and patriotism realise this noble idea. Give back to this noble country, so full of life and promise, the greatest of all blessings—order, stability, confidence. Put down with energy the spirit of anarchy and revolt. You will thus have saved France, preserved Europe from an immense peril, and have added to the glory of your name a new and imperishable renown.'

These were the words with which the Consultative Commission—the composition of which has already been described—handed to Prince Louis Napoleon the power transferred to him by more than seven millions of his countrymen.

In his reply the Prince used the famous phrase, 'Je n'étais sorti de la légalité que pour rentrer dans le droit;' and said that France had shown that she understood and approved the step. 'More than seven million suffrages have absolved me, by justifying an act which had only one object, that of saving France, and perhaps Europe, years of disorder and of misery. I thank you for having officially declared this manifestation to have been thoroughly national and spontaneous.' Then the Prince added: 'I hope to secure the destinies of France by establishing institutions which shall satisfy at once the democratic instincts of the nation and the unanimously expressed desire to have a powerful and

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respected Government. In short, to satisfy the demands of the present by creating a system which shall re-establish authority without wounding the spirit of equality or closing any avenue to progress, is to lay the solid foundations of the only edifice which will in the future guarantee a wise and beneficial liberty.'

On the morrow—that is, on New Year's Day, 1852—the Prince went in state to Notre Dame, to pray, as he said, for God's protection for the fulfilment of his task. 'Invested by France,' he remarked, 'with the right which comes from the people,' he prayed for 'the power which is derived from God.'

BOOK IX.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE ENGLISH ALLIANCE.

CHAP. I.

In 1867 M. Ponson du Terrail, who had just received the cross of the Legion of Honour, sent to the Emperor, through M. Corti, the outline of a romance, in which the benefits that France had derived from the Second Empire were set forth in a dramatic form. The romance was to be called 'After Eighteen Years.'[1] The principal figure was an aged Paris bourgeois whose business had kept him away from his country since 1852. He returned to find his old quarters vanished, and, in the place of narrow streets, cavernous unhealthy old houses, redolent of sewage and dirt and darkness, spacious avenues, stately palaces, and light and cleanliness everywhere. He came upon a prosperous city, and found himself one of a nation growing rich at home and honoured and powerful abroad. His beloved France was indeed at the head of the civilisation of the world!

On the morrow of the solemn ceremonial in Notre Dame with which Prince Louis Napoleon entered actively upon his 'mission'—that mission which, as we

[1] The nominees of the Government of September 4, who were charged with the publication of the Tuileries papers, published the note of this work, which they found among them, as the plot of a romance by the Emperor. M. Auguste Vitu exposed the blunder in the *Peuple français* of October 19, 1870. M. Ponson du Terrail's romance was to have been published as a *feuilleton* in the *Moniteur universel*; but a series of accidents postponed its appearance, and the war put an end to the project.

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have seen, had been the sole ambition and the unbroken dream of his eventful life—he began in earnest the series of efforts for the amelioration of the condition of the wage classes which he had meditated in exile and in prison, and for which he had fortified himself by a resolute study of the fabric of modern society. In the course of the reign on which he was now entering he committed many errors—due mostly to the excess of thought he gave to every question, and to the conscientiousness with which he listened to every argument and sought light from every quarter; but he also displayed throughout his epoch of power an unfaltering desire for the improvement of mankind, and a knowledge of the wants and predicaments of the humbler classes incomparably deeper than that of any contemporary sovereign, or indeed of any previous sovereign we can call to mind. At the same time he manifested a magnanimity towards unsleeping and unscrupulous enemies for the like of which the reader will consult modern history in vain. The good which the Prince was able to accomplish for his country was not one tithe of that on which he was bent; but that the sum of it was immense the actual condition of France demonstrates, to the confusion of the unjust and selfish men who, in the pursuit of political power, lose no opportunity of misrepresenting and maligning him.

The time has not yet come for the preparation of an exhaustive history of the Second Empire. M. Delord's conscientious but most untrustworthy work is but a mass of undigested facts and calumnies, *canards*, inventions of the enemy, misstatements and distorted descriptions, with the hot breath of a hostile party-man over all. Moreover, much of the necessary material is locked up. Important *mémoires pour servir* are under seals, and will not be given to the light for many years to come. Even Madame Cornu, who submitted to us her correspondence

with her illustrious foster-brother while he was at Ham, has left the remainder of her papers closed for the present. De Persigny's memoirs, on which he worked in London after the war, may not be looked at yet. The very few papers which De Morny left are not within reach. General Count Fleury, MM. Rouher, Thiers, Michel Chevalier, de Maupas, Buffet, Dufaure, and many lesser actors in the great drama must have quitted the scene, and left their testimonies open to the hand of the historian, before a fair picture of the reign of Napoleon III. can be designed for posterity. The distorting lights of passion still sweep and shiver—the last lightning-flashes of a mighty storm—over the scene.

But if it be too early yet to weigh the Second Empire in the balance of history, it is high time to fix upon the canvas the individuality of the Emperor, with its many sides and infinite complexities of light and shade. It is therefore the personal history of Louis Napoleon during the last twenty years of his life, as he stood before the world in 'the fierce light which beats upon a throne,' with which we are about to deal. It is right that the world should know what he endeavoured or decided to accomplish, as well as the work which he mastered and has left behind as witness of his genius. He had no sooner thoroughly grasped the reins of power than he endeavoured to grapple practically with some of the social problems of his time; and when he left for the war in 1870, he was still pondering measures for the diffusion of the co-operative system, and had under consideration a plan for the assurance of comfort to aged workmen, on a national scale.

It is impossible to study the life of the Prince Consort without remarking many points of resemblance between his opinions and sympathies on many social questions and those of Prince Louis. Prince Louis was the more ad-

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venturous thinker, and he had a knowledge of the world which the happier life of Prince Albert had not put within his reach. Politically, the Princes were wide as the poles asunder; but they had both a keen interest in the social and intellectual activities of their day, which led them to a common ground of effort, as in the promotion of international exhibitions of industry. The Great Exhibition of 1851, all the lessons of which were closely marked by Prince Louis, led him to promote the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855. It may be said that it was these two great events which brought the two most thoughtful princes of their time into personal contact.

The incessant efforts of Prince Albert for the diffusion of art as an elevating social influence, as well as a new strength to be given to the manufactures of his adopted country; his suggestive speeches on all kinds of social improvements, in which he took a hearty interest; his thoroughness in every movement to which he gave his countenance—showed him to be a conscientious student of his epoch and a speculative thinker who kept a sharp outlook upon coming events. He must have watched closely the early movements of Prince Louis Napoleon when the *coup d'état* and the almost unanimous national vote had given him absolute power in France. Among the books which Prince Albert read in 1852 we find 'Idées napoléonnes,' Nassau Senior's 'Diary of 1848–51 at Paris,' 'Histoire de Huit Ans,' Montalembert's 'Église catholique,' and Colonel Morris on the 'National Defences of England.'[1] These were so many aids to the proper understanding of the current events of the year—the principles of the new Governor of France; the position of De Montalembert in relation to the Catholic Church, and especially of

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin. Smith, Elder, & Co., 1876.

its Gallican clergy; and the excitement in England on the subject of national defence, provoked by all kinds of wild rumours about the warlike aspirations of the French army and its chief. The position of so close a student near the throne of England no doubt contributed greatly to that *rapprochement* of the two nations which came out of the little aversion with which the English Court and a section of the English aristocracy regarded Prince Louis Napoleon at the beginning of 1852. The *rapprochement* was effectually promoted and cemented by the advent of the Tories to power on Lord Palmerston's defeat of Lord John Russell's Militia Bill in February; for this change brought Prince Louis Napoleon's intimate friend Lord Malmesbury to the Foreign Office. Henceforth the amicable character of the relations between the two countries was secured; for, on the one hand, the Foreign Secretary could speak with the authority of long personal knowledge of the personal qualities, intellectual powers, and genuine sympathies of the President; and, on the other, the President could communicate his ideas and aims with the utmost fulness and frankness to his old friend.

It so happened that the disgrace of Lord Palmerston for his precipitate approval of the *coup d'état*, which Prince Louis Napoleon regarded as a misfortune, led indirectly to the beginning of that friendship between the English and French nations which formed the basis of all the foreign policy of the Second Empire. It helped to clear away a mass of misconceptions, on which both branches of the Bourbons would have been glad to work in order to keep the two countries apart. With Lord Cowley in Paris in the place of Lord Normanby (a change by which the dignity of the ambassadorial office gained considerably), Lord Malmesbury at the Foreign Office, and Prince Albert studying from his lofty position every sign of the times and every project of the new 'humanitarian'

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ruler of France, the real friendship that Prince Louis Napoleon felt towards the English people was soon rewarded by an alliance which, while it lasted, redounded to the honour and prosperity of the two foremost nations of the earth.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852.

THE Prince President lost no time in making his power felt. While taking every precaution for the maintenance of order, he at once put in execution measures of public utility on which he had been long bent. While he issued a severe decree[1] against *repris de justice* (or ticket-of-leave men) and other inveterate promoters of disorder, transporting the worst to the penal colonies of Cayenne and Algeria, and banishing others under police supervision to their native communes or to distant departments—leaving none in Paris to re-kindle the still smouldering elements of insurrection—he hastened to show the people that he entered upon power in a conciliatory spirit and with a strong desire to promote the public good before all things. The public peace once assured, he withdrew from the prefects the extraordinary powers with which they had been invested.[2] On December 10 he gave a concession for the line of railway from Lyons to Avignon, which had been lying for three years in the *bureaux* of the Assembly; and at the same time he decreed the immediate laying down of the railway round Paris, ordered the vigorous renewal of the public works in the capital, which had been interrupted, and caused the necessary credit to be opened at the Ministry of Public Works for the immediate demolition of the unsightly buildings that

[1] December 9, 1851.

[2] Circular of the Minister of the Interior, Dec. 8, 1851.

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stood between the Tuileries and the Louvre, hereby beginning that great work—the completion of the Louvre and its junction with the Tuileries—which will be always associated with his name.

On December 15 the Prince addressed to the prefects, through the Ministry of M. de Morny, a circular on cessation from labour on all public works on Sundays and recognised fête days.

'The rest of Sundays,' he remarked, 'is one of the essential bases of public morality, which makes the strength and the happiness of a country. If we look upon it only in a physical light, rest is necessary to the health and the intellectual development of the working classes. The man who works without ceasing, and gives up no day to his religious duties and his intellectual improvement, becomes a mere materialist, and the sentiment of human dignity degenerates with his physical faculties. Moreover, the working men who are kept at their task on Sundays too often take a holiday in the week—a bad habit, which, while it outrages venerable traditions, leads gradually to dissipation and the ruin of families. The Government does not pretend, in questions of this nature, to contest the will of citizens. Each individual is free to obey the inspirations of his conscience; but the State, the constituted authorities, the communes, can give the example of respect for principles. It is in this sense, and within these limits, that I consider it necessary to address special instructions to you.

'Consequently, I beg you to give orders that for the future, so far as the authorities are concerned, all public works shall cease on Sundays and fête days; and that you will see that in all departmental or communal contracts there shall be a stringent clause prohibiting work on these days. You will also use your influence with the municipal authorities to provoke such regula-

tions as shall prevent noisy meetings in wine-shops and street noises during the hours of Divine service.'

On January 1, on his installation at the Tuileries, the Prince President decreed the restoration of the eagle to the French flag and to the cross of the Legion of Honour. On the 5th the Prefect of the Seine gave a great entertainment at the Hôtel de Ville to celebrate the vote which had given the Presidency of the Republic to the Prince for ten years, and on the 7th the Prince offered a banquet to the delegates who had been sent from every department of France to the *Te Deum* in Notre Dame. But during the interval that elapsed between the dissolution of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Corps Législatif under the new Constitution the Prince had little time to spend on mere fêtes and ceremonies. It is by the fruit of these four months, during which he was sole and absolute governor of France, that he may be best judged as a patriot and a political thinker.

In his 'Napoleonic Ideas,' published in 1833, Prince Louis Napoleon laid down these bases of a political system:—

'All political power emanates from the people. Suffrage should be universal. The people confide the power of the deliberative enactment of the laws to the Legislature. The Executive should be chosen by the people, by direct and universal suffrage. If the Executive is made hereditary in the person of an emperor, the new emperor should be confirmed by the vote of the people, by universal suffrage, before he enters upon his office. If rejected by the people, the Legislature should propose new candidates, until a choice is made by the people by direct and universal suffrage. There should be no caste. Titles of nobility may exist, but without political rank or power. There should be perfect equality before the law.

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Education should be universal and compulsory. Agriculture and industry, the bases of all prosperity and sound finance, should be fostered. Commerce, both domestic and foreign, should be encouraged. Wars should be discouraged, and not entered into except to repress dangerous aggregations of military power, to prevent oppression, or to resist injuries. France should seek alliances with those Powers having the same purposes as her own. The barbarous, unsocial, repressive commercial notions of the Middle Ages should be discarded. Liberty cannot be established until social disorder is completely suppressed. This is the work of time. Mere words do not consolidate governments. Constitutions must be the result of time and use. Revolutions will never cease until the habit of order and respect for law have become the custom of years.'

The Prince laboured also to show that the Napoleonic idea was not essentially one of war. He regarded the wars of his uncle as heroic struggles made to secure to humanity the liberties bequeathed to the world by the French Revolution; and his dream was always of an empire of peace, the glories of which should be derived from the development of the arts and industry and the happiness of humanity. The idea which he presently expressed at Bordeaux had been in the mind of the student of Arenenberg and the prisoner of Ham. Let us now set forth an outline of the political and other institutions which he established as soon as he was invested with absolute power, and the uses to which he put the four months of dictatorship that intervened between December 2, 1851, and the first meeting of the governing bodies which, as the elected ruler of France, he called into existence.

In a preamble to the Constitution of 1852, dated January 14, the Prince addressed to the French people an explanation of the principles that had guided him in

the preparation of it. He avowed that he had adopted as a model the political institutions which at the beginning of the century, and under analogous circumstances, had consolidated a disorganised society, and given prosperity and greatness to France. The Constitution of the nephew was 'broad-based' upon that of his uncle.

'I have,' he said, 'taken as models the institutions which, instead of disappearing at the first breath of popular agitation, were overthrown only when Europe had coalesced against us. In a word, I said to myself, since France has lived for fifty years under the administrative system of the Consulate of the Empire in military, judicial, religious, and financial matters, why should we not adopt also the political institutions of that epoch? Created by the same mind, they should carry within themselves the same national and practically useful character.'

The Prince went on to remark that existing society was that of France regenerated by the Revolution of '89 and organised by the Emperor. Only the memories of the great deeds of the old régime remained. Its fabric had been swept entirely away by the Revolution; and the organisation which had been set up in its stead was the work of Napoleon. Provinces, provincial departments, intendants, *fermiers généraux*, feudal rights, a privileged class in the exclusive possession of the civil and military administration, had disappeared. The Revolution destroyed them all; but the Revolution created nothing lasting in their stead. The First Consul re-established unity, a hierarchy, and sound principles of government; and his work was still in vigorous existence. Prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors; local councils of the communes and of the departments, the hierarchy of the courts of justice, and irremovable judges, from the *juge de paix* to the Court of Cassation—this, his work,

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remained. It was he who built up the actual financial system—the Bank of France and the Court of Accounts. The Code Napoléon was his. His hand was apparent in the administration of industry, commerce, letters, sciences and arts, from the regulations of the Théâtre Français to those of the Institute, from the code of the *prud'hommes* to that of the Legion of Honour.

'It may be said, then,' the Prince continued, 'that the skeleton of our social edifice is the work of the Emperor. It has resisted three revolutions. Why should not political institutions of a similar origin have the same chances of long life? My conviction was formed long ago; and it is for this reason that I have submitted to your judgment the main bases of a Constitution derived from that of the Year VIII. Approved by you, they will become the foundation of our political Constitution.[1]

'Let us examine the spirit of it.

'In our country, monarchical for eighteen centuries, the central power has always been on the increase. Royalty destroyed the great vassals; and revolutions have themselves destroyed the obstacles which lay in the way of the rapid and uniform exercise of authority. In this land of centralisation public opinion has invariably referred all to the Head of the Government—good as well as evil. To write, then, at the head of a charter that their chief is irresponsible, is to be false to the public sentiment, is to establish a fiction which has vanished three times to the sound of revolutions.

'The present Constitution proclaims, on the contrary, that the chief whom you have chosen is responsible to you; that he has always the right to appeal to your sovereign judgment, in order that under solemn circumstances you may mark your confidence in him or withdraw it.

[1] See Appendix V.

'Being responsible, his actions must be spontaneous and without check. Hence he must have Ministers who will be his honoured and powerful auxiliaries, and not a responsible Council who will form a daily obstacle to the projects of the Chief of the State. Such a Council is an expression of the shifting politics of the Chambers, and prevents the steady application of a regular system.

'Nevertheless, the higher a man is placed the more independent he is, the greater is the confidence which the people repose in him, the more he requires enlightened and conscientious counsel. Hence the creation of a Council of State—the real Council of the Government—the first wheel of our new organisation. It will be a body of practical men, who will prepare drafts of laws in special commissions, and then debate them in a General Assembly, with closed doors and without ostentatious oratory, before presenting them for the acceptance of the Corps Législatif.

'Thus the State will be free in its movements, and be lighted on its way. Let us now see what will be the function of the Assemblies. A Chamber called the Corps Législatif will vote the laws and taxes. It will be elected by universal suffrage, each elector voting for his candidate and not for a list. It will consist of about two hundred and sixty members, and this lessened number will be a guarantee of calm discussion; for we have often seen disorder and passion grow in the Chambers in proportion to the number of Deputies. The Parliamentary reports will not be left to the party spirit of each newspaper. The only report will be an official one, produced under the direction of the President of the Chamber.

'The Corps Législatif will freely discuss every measure submitted to it, and will adopt or reject it; but it will not have the power to introduce amendments, nor to originate Bills—these powers having been the source of

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constant conflicts with the Government. The Ministers not being in the Chamber, and Bills being supported by speakers of the Council of State, time will not be lost in idle interpellations, nor in party struggles to overturn Ministers in order to take their places.

'Thus the debates of the Corps Législatif will be independent; but the causes of barren discussions will have been suppressed, and a salutary delay will have been secured in the modification of the laws. The representatives of the nation will, with due deliberation, do serious work.

'Another Assembly will be called the Senate. It will be composed of elements which, in all countries, are legitimate influences—illustrious names, fortune, talent, and services rendered to the country. The Senate is no longer, like the Chamber of Peers, a pale reflection of the Chamber of Deputies, repeating after an interval of a few days the same debates in another key. It is the depository of the fundamental pact or covenant, and of the liberties compatible with the Constitution; and it is only in their relation to the great principles on which our society rests that it will examine measures, or propose new ones to the Executive.

'It will intervene to solve any difficulty that may arise in the absence of the Corps Législatif, or to define any point of the Constitution and regulate its operation. It has the right to annul every arbitrary or illegal act; and having the prestige which belongs to a body which is devoted exclusively to the examination of important interests, or to the application of a great principle, it will fulfil in the State the independent, salutary, and conservative functions of the ancient Parliaments.

'The Senate will not be, like the Chamber of Peers, transformable into a court of justice. It will keep to its character of supreme moderator; for unpopularity in-

evitably falls upon political bodies when the sanctuary of the legislator is turned into a criminal court. The impartiality of the judge becomes doubtful, and he loses his prestige in the eyes of the public, who sometimes go the length of accusing him as the instrument of passion or of hatred.

'A High Court of Justice, selected from the ranks of the magistracy, with juries drawn from among members of the Councils-General of France, will alone suppress attempts against the Chief of the State and the public safety.

'The Emperor said to the Council of State: "A Constitution is the work of time: it is impossible to leave too wide a place open to improvements." The present Constitution has been fixed only in places that could not be left doubtful. It has not closed in an iron circle the destinies of a great people. Space enough is left for change, so that in any great crisis there may be means of safety other than the disastrous expedient of revolution.

'The Senate can, in concert with the Government, modify all that is not fundamental in the Constitution; but as regards modifications of the essential bases which have been sanctioned by your suffrages, they can be definitive only after they have been ratified by you.

'Thus the people remain masters of their destiny. Nothing fundamental can be done without their consent.

'These are the ideas, these are the principles which you have authorised me to apply. May this Constitution give peaceful and prosperous days to our country! May it prevent the recurrence of those intestine struggles in which the victory, even when most legitimate, is dearly bought. May the sanction which you have given to my efforts be blessed by Heaven; for then peace will be

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assured within and without, my prayers will be fulfilled, my mission will be accomplished!'[1]

The power placed in the keeping of Prince Louis Napoleon by the Constitution of 1852, formed on his own model—the labour of his years of meditation over the day which had dawned at length—was such as had never yet fallen to the lot of mortal man. He was absolute master of a great people that stood in the van of civilisation, master of the foremost nation of Continental Europe; and he could boast that he was dictator by the free consent of the millions whose fate lay in his hands. The political institutions which he called into existence all centred in him. Senate, Corps Législatif, Council of State, Ministers, prefects, sub-prefects, mayors, and *adjoints*, from King Jerome to the *garde champêtre*—all the public servants of France derived their authority from him, and could be broken by him. The mission in which his faith had been steadfast through so many years of exile he had now full power to accomplish. He was free to apply his humanitarian theories and his principles of government for the good of the greatest number. He had reached the Tuileries at length, and the eyes, not of France only, but of Europe, of the civilised world, rested upon him, to see how far he would justify the confidence of his countrymen.

The first care of the Prince was to surround himself with the best advisers he could obtain. His anxiety in this respect was proved in the appointment of the Consultative Commission at the time of the *coup d'état*, and it was further manifested in his nominations to the Senate and the Council of State. Among the seventy-two Senators whom he appointed in January were eighteen generals, three admirals, fourteen ex-Ministers, and five judges

[1] See Appendix V.

—the rest being ex-Peers of France and ex-representatives. The list of names includes men of many shades of opinion. Count d'Argout, formerly Minister of Finance and Governor of the Bank of France; the Marquis d'Audiffret, President of the Court of Accounts; Prince de Beauveau, ex-Peer; Count de Breteuil, ex-Peer; the Marquis de Belbœuf, formerly First President of the Court of Appeal at Lyons; Prince de Wagram; M. de Cambacères. sen., ex-Peer; Count de Castellane, General-in-Chief of the Army of Lyons; Count de Caumont-Laforce; the Marquis de Croï; the Marquis de Brabançois; Baron de Crouseilhes, formerly Minister of Public Instruction; Count Curial, ex-member of the Legislative Assembly; M. Bineau; Charles Dupin, Member of the Institute; General Count d'Hautpoul, formerly Minister of War; the Archbishop of Paris; M. Lacrosse, formerly Minister of Public Instruction; General Baraguay d'Hilliers, ex-Ambassador; the Duke de Mortemart; M. Drouyn de Lhuys, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs; and Troplong, were in the list. Prince Jerome Bonaparte, Marshal of France, was created President.[1] The Council was divided into two sections. M. Baroche was appointed Vice-President (to preside in the absence of the Chief of the State); and the presidents of sections were: M. Maillard, President of Committees of Debate; M. Rouher, of Legislation, Justice, and Foreign Affairs; M. Delangle, of the Interior, Public Instruction, and Public Worship; M. Parieu, Finance; M. Magne, Public Works; and Admiral Leblanc, Army and Admiralty. The Council (which took the place of the temporary Consultative Commission) consisted of thirty-four Councillors; and was strengthened by the addition of forty Masters of Requests, of the first and second class, and thirty auditors.

In these two bodies of supporters and advisers the

[1] The Palace of the Little Luxembourg was assigned to him as his town official residence, and Meudon as his country quarters.

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Prince President secured all the political wisdom, the administrative experience, and the personal devotion he could command. Many men of mark stood aside; many watched these elaborations of the basis of a new régime from London and Brussels in anger, and with the determination to do all that in them lay to upset them; but only observers blinded by party passion could seriously assert that Prince Louis Napoleon's Senate and Council of State consisted mainly of adventurers and incapable partisans. Nay, looking at the list twenty-five years after it was drawn up, and bearing in mind the history of France during the interval, and the part many of these public servants have played in it, we are compelled to admit that it included a remarkable proportion of men whose intellectual power would advantageously compare with that of any of the political cliques which have held the reins of power since the fall of the Empire, or which held it under the Monarchy of July.

The electoral law regulating the election of the members of the Corps Législatif was promulgated on February 2. It was divided into five chapters. The first treated of the mode of electing the representative body; the second defined the nature and conditions of the franchise; the third determined the eligibility of candidates; the fourth referred to penal enactments; and the fifth dealt with matters of general arrangement. These were the main provisions of the law:—

'Each department returns a Deputy for every 35,000 electors; should there remain a number of electors equal to 25,000, then there will be an additional member. The total number of Deputies will be 261.

'Algeria and the colonies do not send Deputies.

'Each department is divided into electoral *circonscriptions* equal to the number of Deputies allowed, according to a settled table. This table will be revised every five years.

'The suffrage is direct and universal, with vote by ballot. The votes are to be taken at the *chef-lieu* of the commune, and the polling sections are to be proportionate to the number of electors.

'The electoral colleges are convoked by decree of the Executive Power, and the interval between the decree of convocation and the election must be twenty-one days at the least.

'The candidate to be Deputy must have the absolute majority, or clear half, of the votes given; and these votes must be equal in any case to a fourth of the names of electors on the inscription lists. Should there be a second ballot, then the relative majority will do; and if the votes should be equal, then the senior candidate is to be considered as elected.

'A Deputy chosen for different places must communicate his option to the President of the Legislative Body. Vacancies caused by death or otherwise must be filled up within six months.

'Deputies cannot be prosecuted for opinions expressed in the Legislative Body. Deputies cannot be arrested during the session, or during the six weeks which precede or follow the session. No Deputy can be prosecuted for a criminal offence without leave of the Legislative Body, unless taken *en flagrant délit.*

'All Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age, in the enjoyment of political and civil rights, are electors after six months' residence in the commune. Soldiers and sailors on service are to have their votes reckoned at the commune which they had previously inhabited.

'The exceptions are persons deprived of civil and political rights, or condemned to infamous penalties, or deprived by express sentence of a tribunal of the right of voting, or condemned for misdemeanour even to three months' imprisonment, or for having outraged public

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morals or religion, or attacked the principle of property and the rights of family. Amongst those deprived of the electoral right are those condemned to a month's imprisonment for rebellion, for insults addressed to public authorities, or to a juror, or to a witness giving evidence, or for having violated the law concerning clubs or *attroupements*, or hawking papers or publications. Persons convicted of such offences cannot be placed on the lists of electors for five years.'

Then follow the rules regulating the mode of keeping the electoral lists:—

'Candidates for the Corps Législatif are eligible on reaching twenty-five years of age, without any condition of domicile. Persons who are deprived of their electoral rights by judgments of the tribunals are ineligible as candidates. A Deputy condemned to like penalty loses his seat, and cannot be re-elected.

'All paid public functions are incompatible with the office of Deputy. Should a Deputy accept a paid public situation, he loses his seat at once. Certain public officers cannot be candidates for seats until six months shall have elapsed from the time of the resignation of their employment.

'Persons become liable to penalties who vote without right, or forge names of voters, or give false names, or enter a polling place with arms, or bribe, or menace, or spread false alarms, or do anything, in fact, calculated to interfere with the regular course of election.

'The *bureau* of the electoral college or section is to be composed of a president, four assessors, and a secretary, whom they will take from amongst the electors; but the secretary so appointed has only a consultative voice in the deliberations of the *bureau*. The colleges are to be presided over by the mayors, deputy mayors, and municipal councillors of the commune, or, in their absence, the pre-

sidents will be designated by the mayors from amongst electors who can read and write.'

According to the tabular list, the Department of the Seine (Paris) was to have nine members; the Lower Seine (Rouen), six members; the Nord, eight members. After these the Côtes-du-Nord, Gironde, and Somme come the highest, having each five members. Aisne, Calvados, Charente, Dordogne, Finisterre, Garonne, Ille-et-Vilaine, Loire-et-Marne, Rhin, Rhône, Saône, Sarthe, and Seine-et-Oise had each four members. The other departments had only from three to one.

M. Billault was appointed President of the Corps Législatif.[1] In M. Billault the Government obtained the services of an old and valuable public servant. Member of the council-general of his department in 1837, and subsequently Deputy under Louis Philippe, he signalised himself by his uncompromising opposition to the foreign policy of M. Guizot, denounced the electoral corruption of the régime of July, the right of search, and the Government policy in the Pritchard indemnity case; and for these Parliamentary services under the Opposition was appointed Under-Secretary of State for Commerce and Agriculture in the short-lived Administration of M. Thiers.

The promulgation of the electoral law was immediately followed by a circular to the prefects from M. de Persigny, who had just succeeded M. de Morny as Minister of the Interior.

'It is not,' said the Minister, 'as under preceding Governments, by clandestine influences, which debase men's characters and blunt their conscience, that you will be called upon to exert your influence under the legitimate rule of the elect of the French people. The

[1] The President's salary was fixed at 100,000 francs, with an official residence.

time for intrigues and political corruption is gone. That which you have to do you will do openly.' After dwelling on the importance of harmony among the diverse bodies of the State, he declared that it was in order to secure this harmony, by informing the electors as to the candidates who enjoyed the confidence of the Government, that two hundred and sixty-one Deputies, bent on completing the popular victory of December 20, could be returned. He therefore directed the prefects to make known to the electors through their agents the candidates who were officially recommended.

'I recommend you,' he added, 'to keep the interests of the State above those of persons. The Government does not scrutinise the political antecedents of the candidates who frankly and sincerely accept the new order of things, but it requests you not to hesitate to warn the people against those who oppose our new institutions. They alone are worthy of the suffrages of the people who will engage to defend the work of their hands. It is understood, however, that you will do nothing that will interfere with the operation of universal suffrage. All candidates must be able to present themselves, without impediment. The Prince President would consider the honour of his Government compromised if the least barrier were set up to the free action of the electors.'

Under this new electoral law General Cavaignac and M. Carnot—a member of the Provisional Government—two uncompromising opponents of the Prince, were returned by the electors of Paris, and M. Henon, a violent opponent of the new order of things, by those of Lyons.

CHAPTER III.

GOVERNMENT BY DECREES.

CHAP. III.

THE last of Prince Louis Napoleon's decrees having for their avowed and immediate object the maintenance of public order were those which touched the property of the rich House of Orleans. The decrees of banishment and deportation, which affected the liberty of hosts of men, produced a vehement protest on the part of the defeated and scattered Burgraves. From comfortable quarters in England, Belgium, and Germany they began at once to intrigue again—not for the French people, not for the many thousands of deluded folk whom they had misled to the gates of a prison and then deserted, but for themselves and their chiefs.

The journals which they were able to influence were glutted with stories of the monster Louis Napoleon, and were kept silent on the decrees by which, order once settled, he hastened to forgive and set free all who could be let go with safety to the public peace,[1] and to despatch commissioners to the provinces to revise the judgments of the mixed commissions[2] and remit punishments with a liberal hand. But when a finger was laid upon the prodigious fortune of that royal speculator and money-

[1] A circular of the Minister of the Interior, dated January 29, 1852, addressed to the prefects, directed the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners who had been the mere instruments of insurrectionary leaders, and whose liberation 'would be no danger to society.'

[2] These commissioners were MM. Quentin-Bauchart, Canrobert, and Espinasse.

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gambler Louis Philippe,[1] who had himself despoiled both the Bonaparte and the elder Bourbon, and turned the throne-room into a counting-house, the creatures of the House made the welkin ring with their clamour.

The famous decree of January 22, 1852, which declared the landed property of Louis Philippe annexed to the State domains, have been many times passionately, and very seldom calmly, discussed. These decrees have been described on the one hand as wanton acts of spoliation, and the author of them has been held up to public execration by ingenious Orleanist law-writers (the Orleanists have always commanded the eloquence and the ingenuity of the French bar); and, on the other, they have been justified by reference to ancient as well as recent precedents, and by the extravagant extent of the properties which Louis Philippe had accumulated. It is quite probable that the Prince President of the Republic was not loth to deal to Louis Philippe the measure of justice which Louis XVIII. dealt to his uncle's family in January 1816, and which Louis Philippe extended to his own flesh and blood in April 1832. The Bourbons had compelled the Bonapartes to sell all their property in France

[1] M. Jules Janin used to relate a curious instance of the King's love of money. When his Majesty was looking about for a wife for the Duke of Orleans, M. Janin suggested to M. Guizot the Princess Mathilde. She was young, beautiful, and the daughter of Jerome and the Princess of Würtemberg; the Duke's marriage with her would rally the Bonapartists to the King's Government. Struck by Janin's reasoning, M. Guizot spoke to the King, who smiled, and for a moment appeared to approve the idea. Then he suddenly turned upon his Minister: 'But she has no *dot!*' 'Sire,' replied Guizot, 'the Chambers would vote her a handsome *dot* with enthusiasm.' 'Possibly,' replied the King; 'but I should be forced to pay her father's debts myself. Let us drop the subject.' Years after, when Janin was made an Academician, and he went to Guizot to thank him for his support, the old statesman said: 'Do you remember, my dear colleague, that we two nearly consolidated the future of the Orleans dynasty and made the restoration of the Imperial family impossible?'

within a period of six months; the head of the House of Orleans had deprived the elder branch of his own family of the right to hold property within the French territory. The first decree, of January 22, 1852, declared that such measures were needful to public order and for the public good, and that it was especially necessary to deal with the property of the House of Orleans, since it amounted to the value of twelve millions sterling. The political influence which a prince with such possessions must continue to hold was obvious; and the necessity of diminishing it, if order was to be maintained, was beyond question. One year was allowed to the Orleans family to realise their immense private property—being six months longer than their kinsman had given to the Bonapartes. The property not realised and removed beyond the French territory within the given time was to be dealt with according to the law[1] affecting the possessions of the elder Bourbons passed under the Monarchy of July.

A second decree, based on one of September 21, 1790, on laws passed on November 8, 1814, and on January 15, 1825, according to which property possessed by a sovereign on his accession to the throne becomes part of the national domain, annulled Louis Philippe's transfer of his estates to his children, made on August 7, 1830, as a fraudulent transaction, which had aroused public indignation when it first became known, and declared them part of the State domains. It should be borne in mind that when Louis Philippe made over his property, the two Chambers had already elected him king, and that he had only then to swear allegiance to the charter to complete the transaction.[2] He had accepted the kingly office which the Chambers had conferred upon him before the 7th.

[1] The law of April 10, 1832.

[2] *Les Décrets du 22 Janvier* 1852. Par M. Reverchon, ancien Maître des Requêtes au Conseil d'État. Paris, Charles Duniol, 1871.

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He was *de facto* king. On the other hand, the Chambers had declared, by a law voted on March 2, 1832, that the property which the King had made over to his children was private property.

Being king when he executed a transfer of his property to his children (carefully reserving the life-long enjoyment of it for himself), how did he stand before the law, even as interpreted by the most skilful Orleanist lawyers? According to these, as interpreted by M. Reverchon, although the right to hold private property had been restored to the sovereign under Napoleon in 1810, under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., the private property of the sovereign, which he had not disposed of by will, reverted at his death to the State. By the 20th article of the law of August 23, 1814, it was enacted that the private property of the Prince who ascends the throne is on the instant transferred to the State domain. This transfer is 'perpetual and irrevocable.' [1]

When Louis XVIII. died, the first article of the Act regulating the new Civil List made over to the State all the properties of the late King of which he had not disposed by will; and all the properties of Charles X., of which he had not previously disposed. The question is then reduced to this: Was Louis Philippe king on August 7, 1830? The supporters of the decree of January 22, 1852, declare that he was; and the opponents of these decrees maintain that he was not; although the two Chambers had conferred the sovereignty on him, and he had accepted it! In the second of these decrees it is asserted that Louis Philippe was king on the 7th, by reason of his acceptance of the sovereignty offered to him on behalf of the nation by

[1] 'Les biens particuliers du prince qui parvient au trône sont, de plein droit et à l'instant même, réunis au domaine de l'État, et l'effet de cette réunion est perpétuel et irrévocable.

the two Chambers; and that an act committed in presence of an event certain to be immediately realised, in order to avoid the provisions of a law of public order, is a fraudulent transaction.

The Orleans or Valois family held real property in France, according to the lowest estimate, to the value of twelve millions sterling. The decree of January 22 left them upwards of four millions sterling of private property, on which, the decree stated, 'they could maintain their rank abroad.' In addition, the annuity of 12,000*l.* enjoyed by the Duchess of Orleans was continued to her. The property made over to the State was to be realised and devoted to subventions to mutual benefit societies, to the improvement of artisans' homes in great cities, to credit societies in agricultural districts, and the rest to pensions to members of the Legion of Honour, to the wearers of the military medal, to the education of the orphans of those bearers, and to the maintenance of the Château of Saverne as an asylum for widows of high military or civil functionaries who had died in the service of the State.

The property which was dealt with by the decree of January 2 had been put under provisional sequestration immediately after the Revolution of 1848; and in July 1848 M. Jules Favre had proposed that it should be made over to the State, alleging that it had been secured to Louis Philippe in the first instance by his fraudulent act of August 7, and that he had been confirmed in the possession of it in 1832 by an obsequious Parliament and a servile Ministry. A committee reported on M. Favre's proposition, M. Berryer being its spokesman. The strongest point made by the illustrious Legitimist orator against M. Favre was that, in consideration of his keeping the property in question, King Louis Philippe was required to provide for the cadets of his House, and to give portions to his daughters; and that the property which it was now pro-

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posed to sequestrate was actually charged with the incomes of the King's sons and the *dots* of his daughters. M. Berryer did not dwell, however, on the repeated efforts of the King, notwithstanding this agreement, to extract dotations for his children from the Chambers, except to observe that these efforts proved the nature of the bargain between the State and the sovereign. M. Fould, in February 1850, argued against confiscation; and in this month the Assembly decreed that the sequestration on Louis Philippe's private domain should be raised in the following August; and M. Reverchon points out that both the Executive and the Parliament of the Republic virtually admitted the legality of the King's act of August 7, 1830. Even the Prince President, through his Minister M. Fould, assented to the conclusions of M. Berryer.

But within a month of the *coup d'état* a rumour travelled about political society that the Prince President was contemplating a measure against the Orleans property based on M. Jules Favre's proposition of 1848. At M. Rouher's first official reception as Keeper of the Seals[1] the subject was discussed, and M. Baroche dismissed the rumour as an invention of the enemies of the Government; yet it was only two days after this reception that the two famous decrees appeared. They had been prepared without the knowledge of many of the Prince's most ardent friends. M. Rouher, Keeper of the Seals, M. de Morny, Minister of the Interior, M. Fould, Minister of Finance, and M. Magne, Minister of Public works, as a formal mark of their disapprobation, resigned their offices, and were replaced by MM. Abbatucci, de Persigny, Bineau, and Lefèbvre-Duruflé.[2] But these were not the only con-

[1] January 20, 1852.

[2] M. Rouher, on January 25, 1852—three days after his resignation as Minister, became Vice-President of the Council of State, with the direction of the Legislative department.

sequent defections from the Prince. Many men of influence who had rallied to the Government of the *coup d'état* as a refuge from the revolutionary excesses which the Assembly and the press had threatened, drew themselves away from it in the presence of what they held to be an act of unjustifiable confiscation. Even the Duke Pasquier, whom the Prince had consulted, and who had advised him to refrain from an act which would set every holder of property against him, openly denounced the decrees.[1] Counts de Gasparin and de Rambuteau, who had accepted seats as Senators, now declined them. Most of the new Councillors of State resigned their functions. M. de Montalembert, who had rallied to the Government and joined the Consultative Commission, withdrew in a passion. M. Dupin, who had merely entered a formal protest against the *coup d'état* as President of the Legislative Assembly, had retained his seat as Procureur Général of the Court of Cassation; but on the appearance of the decrees he sent in his resignation to the Prince as his protest against a violation of the law of the rights of property.[2] But this was not all. Even the Ministers who retained their portfolios—MM. Saint-Arnaud, Ducos, Turgot, and Fortoul—were strongly opposed to the decrees, and did their utmost to dissuade the Prince from promulgating them. They were, at the least, a grave mistake, for they produced a chronic irritation

M. de Morny sat in the Legislative Body for Clermont; became, in the following August, president of the council-general of Puy de Dôme; and was raised to the rank of Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour when the Prince President became Emperor. He never ceased to support the Government he had been instrumental in establishing.

[1] In his interview with the Prince President on the subject, the Duke observed that Louis Philippe was generally believed to have given up the throne in order to save his fortune, and that his two sons who were in Africa in February 1848 threw up their command for the same reason.

[2] M. Dupin afterwards resumed his position in the Court of Cassation, and accepted a seat in the Senate.

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in the minds of men who, like M. de Montalembert, had been at first inclined to give the Government of the *coup d'état*, if not a cordial, a steady support, as the strongest barrier against Republicanism and Socialism. In 1853 the Count de Flavigny and M. de Montalembert refused to vote a Budget that included receipts from the sale of the confiscated Orleans property. From time to time these decrees of confiscation reappeared to the public eye, and always to the detriment of the Imperial Government; for the mystery of their origin, and the reason which impelled a prince who was generous to a fault, and chivalrous towards his enemies, to despoil a race that had powerful friends in France, were never divulged. The tardy justice[1] extended to the heirs of Louis Philippe's daughters only served to revive the original fault in the public mind; for the creatures of the Orleans family were sleepless throughout the Second Empire, and served their masters at Claremont and Twickenham well.

In estimating the conduct of the Prince President in this transaction, the impartial reader should not lose sight of the fact that the confiscated property was devoted entirely to the public good; that the extremely rich[2] were

[1] On July 10, 1856, 20,000 francs a year in Rentes were granted (1) to the heirs of the Queen of the Belgians, (2) to the Princess Marie Clémentine d'Orléans, Duchess of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, (3) to the heirs of the Princess Marie Christine d'Orléans, Duchess of Würtemberg.

[2] According to a writer in the *Univers* in September 1875, the Orleans property was undervalued in 1852. In 1821 the domains and forests belonging to the Duke were estimated to contain 184,137 acres, scattered through nine departments, and to be worth nearly 6,000,000*l.* sterling. The forests of the Duchess Dowager were scattered through twelve departments, and were estimated to contain 118,900 acres, and to be worth 3,800,000*l.* The palaces and châteaux were valued at 800,000*l.* The total valuation thus approached very closely 10,500,000*l.*, and when the milliard francs indemnity was granted to the *émigrés* the shares of the Duke of Orleans and his sister amounted to 646,789*l.* By skilful management the Duke so improved his fortune that on his accession to the throne, in 1830, it was believed to have increased in value fully one-fourth. At that period it appears from authentic documents

made to assist in various excellent arrangements for the benefit of the many; and that when the House of Orleans had been dispossessed of domains their right to which was at least doubtful, and which they would certainly not have retained had the chief of this House proved himself a high-minded and chivalrous prince in 1830, the family remained one of the richest in Europe.

The purposes to which the sequestrated Orleans possessions were applied indicated the direction of the Prince's mind. The dictator was true to the Ham student and contributor to provincial journals. While his enemies at home and abroad endeavoured to injure him by asserting that he was bent on renewing his uncle's career of military conquests, and by specially representing him as animated with the desire to avenge Waterloo, he proceeded with his series of domestic measures, many of which he had endeavoured in vain to give the force of law through the Assembly. The cordiality with which his English friends rallied round him went far towards dissipating the sinister rumours of his intentions in regard to England. At a grand dinner which he gave to English guests[1] at the

that the total fortune of the Orleans family amounted to 16,929,987*l.*; since 1830 the death of the last of the Condés has added 3,600,000*l.* to this enormous fortune. Between 1830 and 1848, moreover, the family received of the nation as civil list, dotation of the Duke of Orleans, dowry of the Queen of the Belgians, and so on, an aggregate sum of very close upon 13,000,000*l.* sterling. As Louis Philippe lived very economically, the 20,000,000*l.* of private fortune must in those eighteen years have been very largely increased. Yet when the decrees of January 1852 were issued the agents of the Orleans family gave out that the King's private domain was worth hardly 4,000,000*l.*, and that these decrees left the princes (D'Aumale excepted) dependent on the fortune of their aunt Madame Adélaïde.

[1] Among the company present were the Marquis of Bath, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis and Marchioness of Douglas, Lord and Lady Ernest Bruce, Lord and Lady Gordon Hallyburton, Lord and Lady Poltimore, Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, Lord Alfred Churchill, Mr. and Lady Mary Christopher, Lord Ranelagh, Viscount Clifden, Mr. Henry Baring, the Hon. Spencer Cowper, Mr. and Mrs. Baillie Cochrane, Sir Henry and Lady Ellis, Lady Farquhar, &c.

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Élysée, towards the close of January, he took occasion to express his regret that the press had imbued the public mind with the idea that he had hostile designs towards the country to which nearly all his personal friends belonged, and for the institutions of which he had learned, during a long residence, to feel the deepest respect. His policy, on the contrary, was based on a close and cordial alliance with England.

Among the early measures which the Prince President promulgated [1] was one which regulated *cafés* and *cabarets*, and brought them under severe regulations. These establishments, especially of the lowest order, had increased of late years at a rapid rate, both in Paris and in the departments. They had become the uncontrolled scenes of crime and debauchery, and the head-quarters of all kinds of secret societies. The Prince decreed that no café or wine-shop should be opened without a license, and that they should be closed by the authorities when they became the centres of disorder or drunkenness. This decree and that on Sunday work, already described, were efforts towards the improvement of the condition of the working man, which were the result of the Prince's observations in England as well as in his own country.

Another decree promulgated in the cause of order was that of January 11, which disposed of the National Guards. These citizen soldiers had been always an instrument of disorder. In '92 and '93 they witnessed without protest the saturnalia of the Reign of Terror; under Charles X. they shouted 'À bas Villèle!' and were the revolutionary soldiers of July; in 1848 they cried 'Vive la réforme!' and allowed the revolution of February to be made; in June 1848 and 1849 their uniforms were seen behind the barricades; and in December 1851 they

[1] December 20, 1851.

were a danger to order, and not protectors of it. Prince Louis Napoleon, while he restricted their numbers and their attributions, placed them under the command of the civil authorities. Their officers could act only under the authority of the mayor, the prefect, the Minister of the Interior, or the President; and the Chief of the State appointed the officers, on the presentation of the Minister of the Interior.

This was among the decrees in the interest of public order. Pass we now to those in which the humanitarian proclivities of Prince Louis Napoleon were first made manifest to the French people. In them the lessons of exile are apparent; and we have indications of that desire, which remained as fervid in 1870 as it was in 1852, to promote the well-being, happiness, and dignity of the wage classes. Of these popular decrees none went nearer the heart of the people than that which appointed priests to reside near each of the three great metropolitan cemeteries, to attend gratuitously the funerals of the poor.[1] This, the decree recited, was an act of Christian charity, to be promptly applied; so that no human creature should lack Christian burial on account of his poverty.

We have seen that the funds derived from the sequestration of the Orleans domains were applied in part to the improvement of workmen's dwellings in manufacturing towns, to the encouragement of mutual benefit societies, and to pensions for decayed clergy. These measures were supported and supplemented by reforms of the misgoverned hospitals and asylums; the reorganisation of the Mont de Piété in the interest of the borrower; the regulation of *bureaux de placements*,[2] so that poor people would be neither cheated nor overcharged; and the

[1] March 21, 1852.

[2] Agencies for procuring situations.

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amendment of the law of February 3, 1851, for the establishment of public baths and washhouses on the English model[1]—for which an extraordinary credit of 600,000 francs had been granted, but which had remained almost inoperative from its restrictive clauses.

The decrees affecting the army, and particularly the rank and file of it, were regarded as acts of political prudence—as bids for its favour. They were eminently popular. So far back as December 1849 M. Ferdinand Barrot, the Minister of the Interior, had caused an enquiry to be made through the prefects into the numbers and condition of the old soldiers of the Republic and the Empire. A commission had subsequently examined the papers of the veterans, which they had forwarded, had recognised the claims of 11,200 soldiers who had faithfully served their country and were in indigent circumstances, and had demanded for them pensions varying from two hundred to a maximum of three hundred and twenty-five francs. The conditions were that the pensioner should be eighty years of age, have served in the army twenty years, and have received six wounds on the field of battle. That in 1850 there should be more than eleven thousand men fulfilling these conditions was a startling fact.

In a decree dated December 27, 1851, the Prince President recognised it, by opening an extraordinary credit of 2,700,000 francs at the Ministry of Justice for the pensions of the 'glorious veterans.' At the same time he decided that services within the territory—that is, in the suppression of insurrection or disorder—should count as *service de campagne*, and confer the same privileges; and he reorganised those 'martyrs of the demagogues' the gendarmerie. Reforms in promotion, and the division of the territorial commands; the institution

[1] February 3, 1852.

of the military medal; the restoration of the eagle to the national flag; and, above all, the abolition of the law of the Provisional Government which permitted volunteers to serve two years instead of seven, were welcomed by the military authorities. A decree of January 17, 1852, abolished the volunteers of two years,[1] on the ground that they left the service just when they were beginning to be good soldiers, and that therefore they diminished the efficiency of the army.

At the first distribution of the new military medal in the court of the Tuileries on March 21, the Prince, in his harangue to the troops, explained its origin and meaning. He had often regretted that soldiers and subalterns who had, by long and devoted services, deserved well of their country were sent back to their homes unrewarded. The military medal was designed to recognise such humble services. It was supplementary to the Legion of Honour. It would be given to men who had re-engaged themselves after having served their first term with honour; to soldiers who had taken part in four campaigns, who had been wounded, or who had been cited for brave conduct. 'The medal would confer a pension of a hundred francs: a trifle,' said the Prince; 'but the riband you will wear upon your breast will tell your companions, your fellow-citizens, and your families that you are a brave soldier.' Moreover, the military medal would be a preliminary decoration to that of the Legion of Honour. It was a mark of distinction intended to reward the humbler grades of the military hierarchy; and the Prince prayed the

[1] The actual French Republic has established 'volunteers of one year;' and is threatening (March 1877) to reduce the general term of service to three years—a course which will make a nation of soldiers, but, as M. Thiers has argued, of inefficient soldiers. M. Thiers, in his boasts about his law of 1832, forgets to mention the fact that the Prince President restored it in its integrity.

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soldiers to wear it as a mark of his affection for the great military family of which he was proud to be the chief.

At the same time the Legion of Honour was reorganised.[1] The number of the officers was limited, and it was decreed that until 1856 only one civil nomination should be made on the extinction of two legionaries; the eagle was restored to the star; and the modes and reasons of nomination, the administration of the Chancellery, the pension, and prerogatives, were readjusted under fifty-nine articles—the President of the Republic being Grand Master of the Order.

It has been said that Prince Louis Napoleon carved his way to the throne of his uncle by the extraordinary vigour with which, immediately upon the establishment of order after the *coup d'état*, he made work abound in every part of France. The sound of workmen's hammers was the music of his triumph. And there is much force in the observation; for even while he was deeply engaged in the elaboration of the State machinery that was to replace that which he had put aside by force as working only towards anarchy; in the regulation of such details as the gorgeous uniforms of State Councillors, Senators, and Deputies; and in the adjustment of official salaries on a scale proportioned to the material splendour with which he had resolved to surround the Constitution of 1852—he kept a watchful eye on the remedial measures he had devised for the general distress that had resulted from the political uncertainty of 1851. The decrees authorising public works of many kinds came thick and fast between December and March; local improvements were set in operation in all the principal provincial towns;[2] municipalities were empowered to raise loans on a great scale; the canal system as well

[1] By a decree of March 16, 1852.

[2] An International Sanitary Conference was called, and sat in Paris in January.

as the railway system received a vigorous, and at the same time a well-considered, impetus; and private enterprise, emboldened by the strong and resolute Government which had taken the place of the irresolute, factious, and intriguing Assembly, put forth innumerable commercial ventures.

On January 15 a decree appeared, offering the necessary credits for the improvement of the navigation of the Seine and Rhone, and the ports of Boulogne and Sables; on the 18th a credit which the Assembly had refused for opening departmental roads was granted. We have already noted that among the first acts of the Prince President after the *coup d'état* were the concessions of the railway round Paris, and of a line from Lyons to Avignon, as well as the clearance of the Place du Carrousel as a preliminary to the junction of the Tuileries with the Louvre. On March 13 the junction of the national palaces was decreed. But the most important enterprise that immediately followed the vote of December 20 was the termination of an agreement between the Government and a private company,[1] by which the line of direct railway communication between Calais and Marseilles *viâ* Lyons, which had been so long delayed, was to be completed in four years—thus securing the high road to India through France. A month later two decrees conceded lines from Dijon to Besançon and from Mulhouse to Lyons;[2] and a fortnight afterwards[3] another line connected Strasburg with the Bavarian frontier, and thus gave France a Southern route to Germany.

At the same time the Northern Railway Company obtained concessions by which it was able to develope branches that put it in conjunction with the eastern group of lines, and to shorten the route to Northern Germany.

[1] Published in the *Moniteur* on January 6, 1852.

[2] February 12.

[3] February 25.

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Thus was the great network of French railways put in course of completion; and this—so profound was the sudden security which the new régime had produced—without subventions or pecuniary guarantees from the State. The only advantage given by the Government was the extension of the concessions to ninety-nine years, at the expiration of which time they were to become the property of the community—a plan which we are already envying our neighbours.

In a remarkably clear and comprehensive report M. de Morny sketched the outline of a system of telegraphic wires to connect all the principal provincial cities with Paris —these lines to follow the departmental high roads until the railways were completed. A decree [1] authorised the Minister of the Interior to construct his lines at once, and a credit of about 200,000*l.* was opened for this purpose.

So much for the commercial and industrial activities which received an immediate impulse from the Prince President. Let us now glance at the financial reforms of his short dictatorship. The principal operation was the conversion of the five per cent. Rentes into four and a half per cents., with the equitable condition that all Fund-holders who objected to the conversion should be reimbursed at the rate of 100 francs for every five francs of Rentes, provided the demand was made within twenty days from the date of the decree. This delay extended to two months for Fund-holders residing out of France—that is, in Europe and Algeria—and to one year for those out of Europe. The measure was opposed as sudden, and was assailed as inequitable, by the Prince's enemies. The first objection was groundless, for this conversion had been three times voted by the Chamber of Deputies under Louis Philippe, but postponed by his timid Minis-

[1] January 6.

ters, and had, moreover, been expected even from the morrow of the *coup d'état*; and the second was answered by the option given to the Fund-holders of realising at par. But the best proof of the soundness and fairness of the measure lay in the fact that the creditors of the State showed no inclination to take their money back. The saving to the Government by the transaction amounted to 720,000*l.*![1] If the conversion pressed hardly upon any holders of Rentes, it was the small holders; but these could realise and invest their little capital at five per cent. in the Caisse of Pensions for the Aged, which the Prince President had initiated in 1850. The Caisse allowed five per cent.[2] on deposits until the interest reached 500 francs, the stipulation being that the depositor should have completed his fiftieth year.

This conversion, while it eased the State Treasury, tended to throw new capital at a cheap rate into the market; and this tendency was further promoted by the reduction of the Bank rate of interest from four to three per cent., a measure which the Prince President imposed on this establishment, in the interest of the community, as the condition of the renewal of its charter, which would have expired in 1855.

The last important financial operation of the Prince's dictatorship was the law based on the deliberations of a commission of men of authority in agricultural and financial matters, nominated on the morrow of the *coup d'état*, which authorised the establishment of Crédit Foncier societies, in agricultural loan or mortgage banks, the first funds placed at their disposal being 10,000,000 francs to be derived from the Orleans property, 10,000,000 francs

[1] The amount of Rentes affected by the decree of March 14 was 187,184,621 francs, representing a capital of 4,000,000,000 francs.

[2] This interest was reduced to four and a half per cent. in 1853.

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to be supplied by the State, and 200,000,000 francs to be advanced as required by the Bank of France to the departmental branches of the central society established in Paris. The rate of interest, all expenses included, was fixed at five per cent. At the same time the Prince President decreed [1] the establishment of arrondissement consultative agricultural chambers, which were to be centres of information for the guidance of the Government and for the instruction of farmers. Finally, the finances of the dictatorship as embodied in the Budget for 1852 showed an increase for extraordinary public works of 14.000,000 francs. At the same time, although M. Fould was able to reduce the import duties on fermented liquors by half, and the war estimates were increased 1,000,000 francs, and the navy estimates 32,000,000 francs, he could present a surplus of about 18,000,000 francs.[2]

This was not, however, all the work of the dictatorship. Sanitary measures for the improvements of the homes of the working poor, regulations for the prevention of food adulterations, the transfer of taxes from necessaries to luxuries, the assurance of Christian burial to the poorest Christian, increase of pay and honour to the lower ranks of the army and to the private soldier; railway works withdrawn from Government patronage, extended, and confided to private enterprise; town improvements set in operation all over the country; Sunday labour discountenanced, and the provident habits of the people promoted by a vast system of mutual benefit societies; the National Guard remodelled; the educational machinery of the State reformed and withdrawn from party political

[1] March 25, 1852.

[2] According to M. Achille Fould's report to the President on the National Financial Situation of 1851, the events of December 2 caused an extraordinary expenditure of 500,000 francs—viz. 300,000 francs secret service money for the Prefecture of Police, and 200,000 francs for compensation for damage done to properties and persons.

influences—such were salient features of the Prince President's policy. Canals and roads were projected; postal conventions were concluded; a telegraphic system, embracing all France, was decreed;[1] but, above all, a bold and sweeping measure of decentralisation[2] was put forth only a few days before the meeting of the Parliamentary bodies created by the new Constitution. It used to be said under Louis Philippe that it was impossible to move a post in the street of a provincial town without an express order from Paris. The Prince President loosened these ridiculous and benumbing bands which paralysed the provincial life, by transferring to local authorities the government of all purely local affairs, as roads, water-ways, bridges, municipal *octrois*, fairs, markets, communal lands and rights, draining of marshes, regulations of factories, the maintenance of public buildings—in short, all purely local matters.

More than eighty decrees, having for their object the public good, and in most of which is discernible the result of the meditations of an earnest student of the wants of society, and of the reforms specially needful for the regeneration of France, marked the brief career of the Prince President as absolute and sole dictator. Some of his measures may have been over venturesome; some may be open to the charge of vanity, and as manifesting a love of material show and splendour; some may be regarded as mere bids for the favour of the multitude or the support of the army; and others, as the creation of the Ministries of State and Police, may be condemned as concentrating undue power in the hands of the Chief of the State—but it is impossible to take an impartial survey of them, and to consider them in their entirety, without admitting that they bear the impress of a lofty intellect and

[1] March 26, 1852.

[2] See Appendix VII.

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a kindly and sympathetic nature. They were the produce of a mind that was abreast of the time, and that had been copiously fed with lessons of experience mastered in close contact with all classes of various communities. The decree offering a reward of 50,000 francs for any practical application of the voltaic battery to heating, lighting, mechanism, or medicine may be taken as indicating the wide range of the Prince President's observation of men and things.

An American writer of authority in the 'Overland Monthly' for March 1873 remarked of Prince Louis Napoleon: 'He was more extensively and more thoroughly educated than any other prince who ever ascended a throne. He spoke French, German, English, Spanish, and Italian like a native. He was a good classical scholar, profound in mathematics and physics, and in mechanics both skilled and inventive.

. . . . . .

'When at liberty, both during youth and manhood, he was a diligent and a systematic student; and he might well, with a grim humour, have applied what Broderick said in the Senate of the United States of his youthful apprenticeship as a stone-cutter to his six years' imprisonment at Ham: "It was an occupation which devoted him to thought, while it debarred him from conversation."'

The soundness of this eulogy might be proved by a critical and analytical examination of the decrees, only the more important of which have been here described.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEETING OF THE STATE BODIES.

THE elections to the Corps Législatif took place on February 29; and the Chambers met on Monday, March 29.

The opening ceremony, which was one of great magnificence, took place in the Hall of Marshals in the palace of the Tuileries. This noble hall, draped with crimson hangings, the galleries filled with the wives and daughters of the Diplomatic Corps and the great functionaries of State, the floor crowded with diplomatists, Senators, and Deputies in their glittering costumes; and, dominating the scene, the lofty canopy over the Prince President's raised state chair, near which stood that of the ex-King Jerome, President of the Senate—suggested a right royal ceremony. There was nothing of Republican simplicity or severity here, and as the ambassadors from foreign Powers looked upon the magnificent scene they must have felt that it betokened a further change in the institutions of the country. Had they glanced from the hall into the Court of Honour below, the two hundred carriages which had brought this brilliant company to the Tuileries would have confirmed this impression.

It must have become conviction when the sound of cannon reverberated through the hall, and the drums presently beat to arms, and, preceded and surrounded by a brilliant military staff and a not less imposing household, the Prince President entered, saluting in his kindly, polished

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way those of the company whom he recognised to the right and left of the clear path by which he was led with punctilious ceremonial to the *estrade* and the chair of State. Quiet, composed, self-contained, the Prince requested the company to be seated; and then, unfolding a paper, as he would open a despatch in his cabinet, he read his speech in that clear, deep, sonorous voice which penetrated the most spacious chamber, so that the most distant listener could hear without the least effort.. The Prince gave the following account of his stewardship of the fortunes of the State :—

'The dictatorship which the people entrusted to me ceases to-day. Public affairs are about to resume their regular course. It is with a sentiment of real satisfaction that I come here to proclaim that the Constitution is in operation; for my constant care has been not only to re-establish order, but to render it permanent by giving to France institutions in harmony with her wants. You will remember that only a few months ago, the more I confined myself within the narrow limits of my prerogatives, the more severe were the restrictions sought to be put upon me, in order to deprive me of all power of initiative. Often discouraged, I admit that I thought of giving up a power so persistently disputed. I held on because I saw that there was only anarchy to take my place. On all sides passions, eager to destroy and incapable of creating, were rife. There was neither an institution nor a man to be relied upon. Nowhere could an uncontested right, a practical system, or an organisation of any kind be discerned.

'When, through the assistance of a few men of courage, and, above all, the energetic attitude of the army, all these perils were swept away in a few hours, my first care was to ask the people for institutions. Society had too long been like a pyramid resting on its

apex; I replaced it upon its base. Universal suffrage, the only source of power under such circumstances, was immediately re-established; authority reassumed the ascendant—in short, France having adopted the principal features of the Constitution which I subinitted to her, I was enabled to create political bodies the influence and prestige of which will be great, because their respective functions have been carefully regulated.

'Only those political institutions endure in which the power of each body is equitably regulated and defined. This is the only means of establishing a beneficent and useful liberty. Examples are not far to seek. Why, in 1814, were men pleased to see a Parliamentary régime inaugurated, in spite of our reverses? Because the Emperor (let us not shrink from the avowal) had been led, through war, to a too absolute exercise of power. Why, on the contrary, in 1851, did France applaud the fall of this same Parliamentary system? Because the Chambers had abused the influences which had been conferred upon them, and, desiring to dominate everything, destroyed the general equilibrium. In fine, why has France not protested against the restrictions which have been put on the liberty of the press,[1] and on individual liberty? It is

[1] A decree, dated February 18, 1852, established the following stringent press regulations:—

'No paper may be established without Government authority.

'Political newspapers published in foreign countries will not be allowed to circulate in France without Government authority.

'Persons introducing or distributing a foreign paper without such authority are to be punished with imprisonment varying from one month to one year, and a fine of from 100 francs to 5,000 francs.

'The caution-money of a paper appearing more than thrice a week to be 50,000 francs.

'All publication of a paper without authority, or without lodging the caution-money, is to be punished with a fine of from 100 francs to 2,000 francs for each number, and imprisonment of from one month to two years.

'The stamp duties imposed on newspapers are also applicable to foreign newspapers, unless they are exempted under a diplomatic convention.

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because the first had degenerated into license, and because the second, instead of being the orderly exercise of individual right, had, by odious excesses, threatened the rights of all.

'This extreme danger, for democracies especially, of seeing crude institutions destroy the State and liberty, was justly appreciated by our fathers half a century ago, when, on emerging from the revolutionary turmoil, after vain experiments with all kinds of régimes, they proclaimed the Constitution of the year VIII., which has served as model for that of 1852. Undoubtedly it does not sanction those forms of liberty to the abuse of which we had become accustomed, but it consecrates very solid liberties. On the morrow of revolutions the first right necessary to a people does not consist in an uncontrolled use of the platform and the press; it is that of choosing the Government which they desire. The French nation has just given to the world, perhaps for the first time, the imposing spectacle of a great people freely electing its own form of government.

'The chief who stands before you represents an expression of the popular will: and what do I see before me? Two Chambers, one elected under the most liberal electoral law in the world; the other, appointed by me, it is true, but independent, because its members are irremovable. Around me you remark men of acknowledged patriotism and power, who will be always ready to support me with their counsel, and to enlighten me on the wants of the country. This Constitution, which comes

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'A journal may be suppressed without previous condemnation by decree of the Executive.

'It is forbidden to publish reports of trials for press offences. The courts may prohibit publication of other trials.

'The prefect designates the journal in which judicial advertisements must be inserted.'

This law was relaxed under the Empire.

into operation from to-day, is not, then, the result of a vain theory, nor of a despotism: it is the creation of reason and of experience. You will help me, gentlemen, to consolidate, extend, and improve it.

'I will communicate to the Senate and the Corps Législatif a report on the state of the Republic. By it they will perceive that confidence has been everywhere re-established, that work has been resumed on all sides, and that, for the first time immediately after a great political change, the revenue has increased instead of diminishing.

'For the last four months the Government has been able to encourage many useful enterprises, to reward many services, to relieve many distresses, to improve the position of the majority of the public servants; and this without increasing the taxes or disturbing the Budget—which comes before you without a deficit.

'These facts, and the satisfaction with which Europe has received the changes that have happened, give us fair hope for the security of the future; for if peace is secured within, it is also safe without. The foreign Powers respect our independence, and we have every reason to maintain amicable relations with them. While the honour of France remains intact, it will be the duty of the Government to avoid with care every cause of perturbation in Europe, and to direct all our efforts to home improvements, which alone can give comfort to the working classes and secure the prosperity of the country.

'And now, gentlemen, that you are about to share patriotically my labours, I will frankly explain to you what my line of conduct will be. On seeing me re-establish the institutions and reawaken the memories of the Empire, people have repeated again and again that I wished to reconstitute the Empire itself. If this had been my

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constant preoccupation, the transformation would have been accomplished long ago: neither the means nor the opportunities have been wanting. * For instance, in 1848, when six millions of suffrages elected me, in spite of the Constituent Assembly, I was not ignorant of the fact that my simple refusal to acquiesce in the Constitution would have given me a throne. But a dignity which would necessarily have caused grave disorders had no charms for me. On June 13, 1849, it would have been easy for me to change the form of government; but I declined to do so. Finally, on December 2, if personal ambition had stood before the solemn interests of the country, I should have asked the people to confer a pompous title upon me, and they would not have refused. I remained content with that which I had.

'When, therefore, I take examples from the Consulate and the Empire, it is because I find them stamped with national grandeur. Resolved now, as heretofore, to do all in my power for France, and nothing for myself, I would accept any modification of the present state of things only if I were forced by an obvious necessity. Whence can it come? Solely from the conduct of parties. If they remain quiet, nothing shall be changed. But if, by their underhand activity, they endeavour to sap the foundations of my Government; if in their blindness they deny the legitimacy of the result of the popular vote; if, in short, by their attacks they continually put the future of the country in jeopardy—then, but only then, it might be prudent to ask the people, in the name of the peace of France, for a new title which should irrevocably fix upon my head the power with which they have already clothed me. But let us not anticipate difficulties which are not likely to happen. Let us preserve the Republic. It threatens nobody; it may give confidence to everybody. Under its banner I am anxious to inaugurate once more

an epoch of conciliation and of pardon; and I call upon all, without distinction, who will frankly co-operate with me for the public good.

'Providence, which has thus far visibly blessed my efforts, will not leave its work unfinished. It will inspire us with the needful strength and wisdom to consolidate an order of things which will secure the happiness of our country and the peace of Europe.'

The allusion of the Prince President to the possible conduct of hostile parties was more than justified by the violence and virulence with which the disappointed and scattered Burgraves, and the creatures whom they had left behind them, had already attacked his Government. No calumny was too gross for their acceptance. They fed the foreign press with exaggerated reports of every official act of repression. It was they who described the *coup d'état* as an organised butchery, turned hundreds into thousands when they dealt with the condemnations of the mixed commissions; disseminated wilfully false news about every department of the public service; distorted and degraded every act which the Prince President adopted; attacked his private life, assailed his honour, and held him up to universal execration as a greedy adventurer battening, in the company of low associates, on the wealth of France. Among the devices of the Bourbon agents were the constant rumours of the Prince's warlike intentions, and especially of his designs upon England. There never existed the least foundation for these rumours, as English Ministers well knew; on the contrary, as we have shown, the Prince's constant care was the maintenance of a cordial alliance with the English nation, to which his heart as well as his head inclined him. But he had other aggressive projects, according to his enemies, whose livid rage showed itself day by day as the public fortune

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improved under the rule of the Bonaparte. He was about to annex Belgium by a decree, to seize upon the Rhine frontier, to invade Savoy, to pounce upon Geneva. But his great project was a descent upon England. The persistence with which some of the important organs of the British press dwelt on this idea, and even gave credence to it, led to observations in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell that for a moment discouraged the Prince's enemies. It is true that Lord Palmerston had been dismissed from office for prematurely approving the *coup d'état*; but Lord John hastened to say in February, when the ridiculous rumours of invasion were rife, that he was convinced, 'from assurances he had had, the present ruler of France was desirous of keeping on terms of amity with this country.' He added that 'there was no time when peace between Great Britain and France would more contribute to the cause of civilisation throughout the world than the present.' Lord Derby and Lord Grey entered their protest against the war fever. But it spread beyond England.

The Emperor Nicholas sent an envoy to Brussels, hereby recognising at length the kingdom of Belgium, and, together with Austria, Prussia, and England, notified to the Prince President that any attack upon the independence of Belgium would lead to the immediate occupation of the citadel of Antwerp by a British force of 10,000 men. But the fever raged chiefly in London, where it led to a Government measure for calling out and developing the militia. The success of Lord Palmerston's amendment to the effect that this force should be a general, not a merely local one, in order to make it powerful enough to repel the contemplated contingency—an invasion—led to the resignation of Lord John Russell and the advent of Earl Derby and Mr. Disraeli to power, with the Prince President's friend Lord Malmesbury at the Foreign

Office. It was in the presence of the alarmist rumours in England, and of the settled hostility towards the Prince President's power on the part of Russia, that he inserted a formal remonstrance in the 'Moniteur.' He remarked that when he was elected in 1848, certain English papers, and certain personages interested in thwarting him, declared that a Bonaparte at the head of France meant nothing less than a European war. The same tactics had been resumed since December 2. Party manœuvres acting upon ignorance had combined to give the alarmist rumours credit, and to represent the Prince as making menacing demands upon neighbouring States. These statements were audacious falsehoods. 'Time,' the Prince continued, 'which generally dissipates the work of malevolence and folly, appears in this instance to encourage it. More than ever, false alarms are spread, and projects are invented. Even the regiments which are to pass the frontier are indicated. Hence public confidence is weakened, and obstacles are raised to the resumption of thorough commercial activity. And yet, since December 2, the Government has addressed no demand whatever to foreign Powers, unless it be a request to Belgium to prevent the system of incessant attacks.[1] Not an additional soldier has been equipped, not even a general review has been held; in short, nothing has been done to awaken the least suspicion on the part of our neighbours.

'All the efforts of the State in France are directed towards home improvements. Unjust attacks will not disturb the Government. It will alter its course only when the national honour and dignity shall have been assailed. Its attitude has never ceased for one moment to

[1] The French refugees and exiles in Brussels never ceased, throughout the Empire, to direct the most infamous personal attacks against the Emperor and his family. In 1852 it was the centre of a permanent conspiracy.

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be peaceful; and any rumour tending to present it in another aspect is a gross invention, to which, after this formal denial, it will reply by silent contempt.'[1]

And yet the sinister and hostile reports did not cease; on the contrary, they abounded during the general election, and were used without scruple against the French Government. The revolutionary committee in London had ordered their agents in Paris to be ready to act in March. The Orleans dynasty did not, nevertheless, succeed in obtaining the return of a single partisan, while the Count of Chambord's successes were restricted to two or three seats. The Republicans carried only three or four elections—among these two out of nine in Paris. It is true that many of the leading men of the old Chamber, as MM. Berryer, Jules Favre, Dufaure, and de Falloux, refused to be put in nomination; but in substance the elections of February were but the corollary of the vote of December 20. The Prince President's two months of absolute power had only confirmed the confidence of the millions who had conferred it upon him. The men who could not harm him in open fight took to the underhand dissemination of calumnies. On the day of the inauguration of the State bodies, among the 200,000 people who, according to an estimate of the time, filled the streets on the Prince President's passage from the Élysée to the Tuileries were

[1] In March Mazzini addressed a proclamation from London to the propagandist committees of the Continent, telling them that the *mot d'ordre* was '*Action*—the united, European, incessant, logical, bold action of all everywhere!' The talkers, according to him, had lost France, and would lose Europe if 'a holy reaction' did not arise against them in the bosom of the democracy. He called upon democratic Europe to help France to rehabilitate herself, and to confound De Maupas, Schwartzenberg, and Radetsky. While Mazzini opened an Italian loan in Europe, Gottfried Kinkel raised a German loan in the United States, among the disaffected emigrants from the Fatherland, for the purposes of a democratic rising, and Kossuth called upon American citizens generally to give him the sinews of revolution.

agents who actively whispered that the Prince was about to proclaim himself Emperor at once, without reference to the will of the nation. A *mot d'ordre* had been passed through the coteries of the disaffected to dwell on this act of usurpation as on the eve of fulfilment; and the paragraph in the Prince President's speech referring to the intrigues of party, and the possible resuscitation of the Imperial dignity in his person as a barrier to them, was his answer to the reports of his warlike intentions as well as to those which described him as busy only with his own personal advancement.

The Senate and Legislative Body met on the morrow of the opening ceremony in the old Parliamentary Chambers. Ex-King and Marshal Jerome Bonaparte, President of the Senate, in an inaugural address declared that the act of December 2 was consummated for the advantage of the people alone, and that by the sovereign people it had been ratified and justified on December 20; that the Prince President's dictatorship was at an end; that the Constitution now established was one to be amended by the light of experience; that the functions of the Senate were purely conservative, and that the last of the Senators of the Empire could not refuse to be the first among the Senators of the new régime, since Providence seemed to decree it. He was the connecting link between the past and the present.

In the Legislative Body President Billault said:—

'Placed under the invocation of the great principles of 1789, fortified by that Government spirit which marked the Consulate, these institutions have received an evident consecration through the suffrages by which we are elected: ours is the duty to infuse into them practical life. This is the commencement of our mission; and this mission, whatever may be said of it, is certainly not altogether without grandeur and authority.

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'We shall not, indeed, see the Legislature surrounded by parties which incessantly hold the Ministry in check, compelling it to concentrate all its forces upon its own preservation and defence, and by so doing not unfrequently enervating the power of the State. Whenever, as Ministers or Deputies, we may employ these Parliamentary tactics, it is to business now that we shall be obliged to consecrate them—serious and practical business. This is our part in the Constitution. It consists in voting the taxes, the discussion of the Budget and of the laws. It implies not merely the right of deliberating freely and publicly, of adopting or rejecting, but also that of amendment, no longer, undoubtedly, with the same facility of improvisation, against which previous Assemblies vainly endeavoured to defend themselves, but with a degree of maturity which can only prove fatal to Utopian projects.'

This speech was followed by the reading of a collective letter from General Cavaignac, M. Carnot, and M. Henon, the Republican Deputies who had been returned, in which they declined to take the oath of fidelity to the President—the condition on which the members of the State Bodies took their seats [1]—and refused, moreover, to sit in a Legislative Body whose powers did not extend to that of repairing the violation of rights committed on the 2nd of December.

The functions of the Legislative Body were indeed restricted. The Deputies had no power of initiative; they could only accept or reject the Bills laid before them by the Council of State; and the Council of State received the

[1] It was imposed on all public servants, whether nominated by the Chief of the State or elected. Among those who refused to take the oath was M. Arago, the renowned astronomer and conspicuous member of the Provisional Government. He threatened to fill the world with the news of his expulsion from the Observatory; but the Prince President probably disappointed him by absolving him, as a mark of respect for his position as a man of science, from the common obligation.

measures on which they deliberated only from the Prince President's Ministers. Such a régime was a restriction of liberty never intended to endure; it was one, however, that showed infinitely better results in the way of sound legislation than the Chamber which the *coup d'état* dispersed, or any which has since sat in France.[1]

[1] The *Figaro* (March 9, 1877), a journal hostile to the Empire, in an article on the dismal Parliamentary sterility of the actual Republic, remarks: 'What does this barrenness mean, and what is the cause of it? It is worth enquiring. Under the Empire Bills emanating from the Government were sent by the Ministers to the Council of State, who studied them and gave unity and strength to them. After a thorough examination and revision, first in committee and then in general assembly, these Bills reached the Legislative Body well drawn up and thoroughly overhauled; and the Government was careful so to present them as to avoid waste of time during the session. The committees of the Legislative Body, receiving Bills well prepared, were saved long deliberations on them; the reports on them were soon drawn up, and when they came on for discussion they were in charge of councillors who knew every article of them, so that the debates were rapid, but to the purpose. Working Deputies found always useful employment for their time.'

CHAPTER V.

THE EMPIRE.

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As the spring of 1852 wore on towards summer, the revolutionary forces of Europe, directed from London and Brussels and Philadelphia (to which latter place the chief Democratic committee emigrated early in the year, and there established the Revolutionary League of Europe), were felt to be disturbing the public mind, through widespread occult agencies in France. At the same time the action of the Count of Chambord, who in his Frohsdorf letter of May had attacked the Government of the Prince President, denied the sovereignty of the people, and commanded his adherents not to take the oath of allegiance —hereby preventing them from occupying any place in the public service—set up a Legitimist agitation in the country, which, at a given moment, might prove a source of serious disorders; albeit the cause of the Count of Chambord had not the faintest chance of prevailing. The son of the Duchess of Berry, putting himself personally forward for the first time as sole director of his party, called upon the Monarchical parties to combine against the actual Government. Many even among his trusty friends, however, declined to shut themselves out from public life, and took various public offices; many remained in the army (the Count absolving these from the duty of abstention, for obvious reasons); and thus a strong element of discord was established around the Prince President.

Another, and more potent hostile influence, which met the Chief of the State at every turn, was that of the active, enterprising, and astute Orleanists. These cunning enemies were thickly sprinkled through the military and civil hierarchy, and abounded among the burgess class of Paris. They did not scruple to take the oath of allegiance to the President, nor to work, while receiving the Government pay, at his overthrow.[1] They had been active in London and in Brussels since the *coup d'état*; and the Duchess of Orleans had been almost persuaded to make a counter-proclamation to that of the Count of Chambord in favour of her eldest son. The ostentatious cordiality with which the King of the Belgians welcomed not only his relatives the Orleans princes, but the generals Changarnier and Lamoricière to his capital and his palace, and at the same time the coarse vehemence with which the Orleanist party pelted the Government of December from the printing presses of Brussels, culminated in strong representations from Paris, in a change of the Belgian law in regard to libellous writing against a friendly Power, and in the banishment of some of the French refugees from the country the peace of which their reckless slanders had put in peril. The advent of Lord Derby to power in England improved the friendly relations of the two countries, and the Prince President found in the Conservative Foreign Secretary, as we have already remarked, an old friend. The ar-

[1] 'Obsequious, full of flattery, outwardly devoted to the Chief of the State, they appear to say to him: "I am devoured by my zeal for your House;" but, while they filter themselves everywhere into power, do they espouse his cause? Do they throw off their nature, their antecedents, their passions? Certainly not. They preserve, under their official gold lace, their old impulses and affections: they never abdicate—they conform. They are not servants of the State; they make use of the State to promote their own ends—that is, to bring about a government *sui generis*, a government of monarchical usurpation and monopoly.'—M. Lourdoueix in the *Gazette de France*, 1852.

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rival of Lord Cowley in Paris as ambassador, to replace Lord Normanby, was hailed by the Prince as an event that would tend to cement the cordial friendship which he wished to establish between the two countries; and he welcomed his Excellency at a State banquet. At the same time the Prince President's relations with the English Court became more genial, for the fine sense of the Prince Consort discerned the new path of duty which was opening before the sovereign. The interest of England, it was becoming obvious, lay with the new régime which France had adopted by the national voice, and not with the questionable fortunes of those persistent enemies of England the scions of the House of Orleans.

The unquiet condition of the Continent, worked by the revolutionary bodies, and the coldness of the Northern Powers towards the French Government, together with the intrigues of the Socialists, the Legitimists, and the Orleanists, were thus disturbing elements that, as the year grew older, began to make the men who had hailed the *coup d'état* as a solution of the national difficulties and dangers pause and wonder whether, after all, Prince Louis Napoleon would be able to vanquish so many hostile forces, and really afford the country a settled future. Early in the summer reports of interviews between the Emperor of Russia and the Count of Chambord were circulated; and the Count was said to have submitted to the Czar that the re-establishment of the Empire in France would be an audacious infraction of the Treaties of 1815. The 'Morning Chronicle' reported that on May 20 a convention had been signed by Austria, Russia, and Prussia, agreeing to a joint opposition to the restoration of the Imperial dignity in the person of Prince Louis Napoleon. To this rumour the Prince boldly replied in the 'Moniteur' of the 30th of the same month.

'Some foreign journals,' he remarked, 'endeavour to

give authority to the rumour that the Northern Powers, anticipating certain eventualities, are ready to renew the coalition of 1815, and that they have decided upon the limits to which they will permit France to alter the form of her Government. This rumour is false. The eventualities on which it is based are not probable. Nothing indicates the necessity of any change in our institutions. France enjoys complete repose. The Powers maintain the most friendly relations with her; and they never showed less inclination to meddle in her home affairs. They know that France would make her own rights respected as she respects those of other nations; but her rights are neither denied nor threatened. Vanquished parties must be allowed to reckon, as in the past, on foreign intervention for the triumph of their pretensions over the national will. These old tactics will only make them more antipathetic to the country.'

This point-blank denial did not, however, dispel vague ideas that France was becoming isolated in Europe, and that the Bourbons were making headway in foreign Courts to bring about a coalition against the Bonapartes. The Prince President watched the course of public opinion at home, and was kept well informed on the intrigues of his enemies abroad. He shaped his course quietly, holding every danger full in view. His personal friends first; and then, by degrees, his partisans all over the country; and lastly, in the autumn, the councils-general of every department and arrondissement—urged him to put an end to an obviously provisional form of government by boldly assuming the Imperial dignity. The Senate was pelted with petitions charged with the same prayer. But the Prince declined to take this final step before he had ascertained beyond all doubt that it was the desire of the great majority of his countrymen. He had every reason to believe that the Empire was at hand. It was his creed that the Empire alone

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could cope with the hostile forces at work within the Republic and around its frontiers; but he would assume the purple only when the sovereign people were prepared to lay the mantle upon his shoulders.

That the successive acts of the Prince President led the public mind back to the splendours of the First Empire, and so warmed the national heart towards an Imperialist restoration, cannot admit of doubt. The Prince saw, as soon as M. Thiers, that 'the Empire was made;' but he kept to his first resolution that it should be made by the sovereign voice of the nation, which he had held from boyhood to be the source of all political power.

The creation of the Musée des Souverains, in which the relics of the hero of Austerlitz, including his St. Helena cocked hat, mended by his heroic servant Santini,[1] were prominent; the embroidered costumes of the Councillors of State, Senators, and Prefects; the State balls at the Tuileries in January and February; the organisation of a right royal hunting establishment; the decree ordering the Prince's name to head all public documents; the oath of personal fidelity; the restoration of the name of Napoleon to the Civil Code; the return of the eagle to the standards; the appearance of the Prince's head on the coinage; and the appointment of the 15th of August —Napoleon's *fête* or name day—as the national holiday of the year—were among the suggestive events of the early part of 1852 which contributed to draw the public mind towards the Empire. On the 10th of May the Prince President distributed eagles to the army, on the Champ de Mars, with an imposing ceremonial, which drew spectators from all parts of Europe. Sixty thousand troops filled the Champ de Mars; three hundred thousand spectators looked on while the Archbishop of Paris

[1] Appointed by the Prince guardian of the Emperor's tomb in the Invalides.

blessed the new colours, and the Prince subsequently handed them to the standard-bearers, saying: 'Take back these eagles, not as a menace to foreign nations, but as the symbol of our independence, as the emblem of an heroic epoch, as the mark of nobility of each regiment. Take back these eagles, which so often led our fathers to glory, and swear to die, if called upon, in defence of them.'

On this occasion, again, it was reported that the President was to be proclaimed Emperor by the Army of Paris; and Socialists and Monarchists were on the look-out to profit by the event. But the Prince, amid the acclamations of the soldiers and the people, returned to the Élysée still President of the Republic.

Already, in April, the Chief of the State had taken a rapid journey through the moors and fever-breeding swamps of Sologne in the company of several distinguished scientific men, and had matured a plan for the recovery of these immense tracts of worse than useless *landes*. In July he had made a triumphant progress to Strasburg. But in the autumn the Prince undertook a tour through the South, with the object of testing the feeling of the people in regard to that Imperial restoration which was becoming by general consent the one thing needful to the consolidation of his Government. The first session of the Legislative Body was over, not without signs of vigorous opposition from such men as the Count de Montalembert and MM. Audran de Kerdrel and Chasseloup-Laubat, and the withdrawal, in deference to public opinion, of several taxes proposed by the Government. The decrees of the Prince President as dictator had been ratified by the Senators and Deputies. He had marked the first celebration of the Fête Napoléon by an amnesty extended to twelve hundred political prisoners; and on August 7 he had re-opened the gates of France to

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MM. Thiers, Duvergier de Hauranne, Rémusat, Jules de Lasteyrie, Laidet, and Antony Thouret. The first signs of reviving national prosperity had rewarded the vigorous initiative of the new régime. The returns for the first half of 1852 showed an increase of revenue from indirect taxes of 26,419,000 francs!

When the Prince started for his holiday progress through the Southern provinces, destined to crown all these labours by a general manifestation of the popular enthusiasm, he was in need of rest. He had been unable to attend the popular ball which he had given to the *dames de la halle* on the Marché des Innocents, at which Ministers and Senators and their wives danced with the market folk. But, with the exception of constant change of scene and of excitement, this *tournée* gave his overwrought mind and body little relief. The strain, although excessive, was mastered by that calm, imperious will which had triumphed already over feeble health in the silent gloom of a prison and over the mortifications of years of exile and contumely. At the outset of his journey he besought the authorities of the towns through which he was to pass not to waste money in sumptuous preparations for his reception, and begged that where large sums of money had been voted for this purpose part of the fund should go to the poor.[1]

It was on September 14 that the Prince set out from Paris. His progress was an unbroken series of ovations. From Paris to Lyons, from Lyons to Marseilles, from Marseilles to Bordeaux, and from Bordeaux to Paris his way lay through a country *en fête*; and wherever he passed holiday hosts congregated, shouting 'Vive Napoléon III.! Vive le sauveur de la France! Vive l'Empereur!' The country folk flocked to the towns and bivouacked in the streets; the factories were closed; the shops were

[1] Note in the *Moniteur* of August 28, 1852.

deserted; and seas of human faces were turned, wreathed in smiles, to the nephew of the Great Captain and the saviour of his country from anarchy. It is noteworthy that in the old strongholds of Socialism—in Lyons, for instance—the entire working population turned out and gave the future Emperor a hearty greeting. Hostile pens have striven in vain to represent the Prince's series of triumphs in the South as a number of spectacles prepared, and paid for, by the police. You may bribe a score of men—but not a million. When the Prince stood, at Lyons, in the midst of two hundred thousand spectators, to unveil the first equestrian statue of Napoleon I., he was not in the presence of bribed hosts cheering at the beck of the dignitaries of the prefecture. He said, in the course of his speech, that all the way from Paris he had been met with shouts of 'Vive l'Empereur!' and he added: 'This greeting rather awakens a memory which goes straight to my heart than a hope which flatters my pride.' He remarked also that prudence and patriotism should lead the people to pause before fixing their destinies, and that he found it difficult to decide the title under which he could be most useful to his country. He still sought the manifestations of the popular will before taking an irrevocable resolution. CHAP. V.

There were a few hostile cries raised on the Prince's passage—as at Montpellier, where the Socialist clubs and revolutionary propaganda had taken deep root. Here, at a workmen's fête given in the Prince's honour, cries arose of 'Vive l'amnistie!'[1] As he was leaving the hostile cry was repeated, the crowd pressing upon him. Untroubled, and with good temper, he paused on the staircase, and motioned to the people to listen. There

[1] This is the cry which is occasionally raised now, by the *communards*, in the wake of Marshal MacMahon.

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was a dead silence, in which he said, in tones at once bold and kindly: 'I hear calls for an amnesty. An amnesty is more in my heart than it is on your lips. If you really desire it, become worthy of it by your good conduct and your patriotism.' A burst of cheering followed, and the Prince continued his triumphal progress. At Aix an infernal machine, designed to take his life, was discovered on the eve of his visit to the town. The serenity with which he paid his visit notwithstanding, and went about without escort, only heightened his popularity. The tour culminated at Bordeaux, where it was brought to a close. By the time the Prince had reached the spacious city on the banks of the yellow Garonne he had made up his mind as to the answer he would give to the universal call of his countrymen. He would wear the Imperial crown, saying to Frenchmen: 'It is not to win glory on the field of battle that I shall, if it needs must be, place upon my head my uncle's crown; I am of my time, as he was of his. I rule to secure to France only the blessings of peace. Be reassured as to the intentions of foreign Powers. France has nothing to fear from them. They know that to attack her would be to bring back to the thrones of Europe the menaces of anarchy and the disorders of revolution.' It was on October 9, at a dinner offered to him by the Bordeaux Chamber, that he finally announced his resolve to accede to the appeal made to him by the universal voice of Frenchmen. He expressed his resolution in the following memorable words:—

'The invitation of the Chamber and Tribunal of Commerce of Bordeaux, which I accepted cordially, affords me the opportunity of thanking your great city for its hearty greeting and its magnificent hospitality. I am glad, also, to avail myself of this occasion, which happens

almost at the end of my tour, to communicate to you the impressions it has produced upon me.

'One object of my journey was, as you know, to see our beautiful Southern provinces, and to ascertain their wants. It has, however, given rise to a more important result. I venture to remark, with a candour as far removed from vanity as it is from false modesty, that never did a people express in a more direct, spontaneous, and unanimous manner their desire to be freed from anxiety in the future, by consolidating in the same hands a power which has their sympathies. It is because they know now the deceptive hopes with which they were lulled, and the dangers with which they have been threatened. They know that in 1852 society was hastening to its destruction, because each party was resigned to a general shipwreck, in the hope of surviving it. They give me credit for having saved the ship by merely raising the flag of France.

'Disabused of absurd theories, the people have become convinced that the pretended reformers were mere dreamers, for there was always a wide disproportion between their means and the results they promised. France encompasses me with her sympathy to-day, because I am not of the family of idealists. In order to do good in the country it is not necessary to apply new systems, but to give, in the first place, confidence in the present and security for the future.

'This is why France appears to be reverting to the Empire. There exists, however, a fear which I should dissipate. Mistrusting persons say to themselves: The Empire means war. I say: The Empire means Peace.[1] It means

[1] When Louis Napoleon became President, the army stood at 446,000 men. On January 1, 1852, he had reduced it to 400,000. On November 17 in the same year he gave orders to the Minister of War to make a further reduction of 30,000 men. Moreover, by a decision of the Minister of War

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peace because France desires it, and when France is satisfied the world is tranquil. Glory may be bequeathed as an inheritance—but not war. Did the princes who were justly proud of being the grandsons of Louis XIV. renew his struggles? War is not waged for pleasure, but under necessity. And in these epochs of transition, when on all sides near the elements of prosperity arise so many causes of stagnation, we may say with truth: "Woe to him who shall be the first to give to Europe the signal of a collision, the consequences of which are incalculable!"

'I admit, however, that, like the Emperor, I have many conquests to make.

'I desire, like him, to achieve the reconciliation of hostile parties, and to bring into one great popular stream the separate warring influences which are now useless. I wish to conquer for religion and morality, and to give ease to that numerous section of the community which hardly knows the precepts of Christ; which, in the heart of the most fertile country in the world, can barely command the first necessaries of life. We have vast waste territories to drain and cultivate, roads to open, ports to be deepened, canals to complete, rivers to be made navigable, railways to be connected. Opposite Marseilles we have a great kingdom to assimilate to France. We have to connect our great Western ports with the American continent by lines of steamers. We find we have on all sides ruins to repair, false gods to pull down, and truths to establish.

'This is how I shall interpret the Empire, if the Empire is to be re-established. These are the conquests which I meditate. And you, who surround me, who desire the good of your country, you are my soldiers.'

in February, the soldiers whose service expired in 1852, and who were then on furlough, were authorised to remain absent until further orders.

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Prince Louis Napoleon returned to Paris a week afterwards[1] virtually as Emperor of the French. The Ministers, the Archbishop of Paris and his clergy, deputations from the Senate and the Legislative Body, all the new State dignitaries, and a brilliant staff of generals received him at the railway station, whence he was conducted with extraordinary military pomp, and under triumphal arches, to the Tuileries. Rejoicing citizens thronged the streets, and saluted Louis Napoleon Emperor. The trades of Paris sent representative deputations; the mayors and curés of the *banlieue* appeared at the head of their villagers; veteran soldiers of the Empire turned out in their old regimentals; and groups of maidens in white scattered flowers and tossed violet crowns to the popular sovereign as he passed along the boulevards to his palace.

As the Prince entered Paris its municipal body presented an address to him, congratulating him on his progress through the South, and conjuring him to take the Imperial crown, and so to assure to France a secure future. 'Prince,' said the municipal councillors, 'France, a few months ago, placed in your hands the supreme power to make laws. To-day the voice of the people, after having consecrated the 2nd of December, demands that the power which has been confided to you shall be strengthened, and that its stability shall be made a guarantee for the future. The city of Paris is happy to associate itself with the popular voice, not, Prince, in your interest, and to add to your glory—there can be no greater than that of having saved the country—but in the interest of all, and so that the mobility of our institutions shall not henceforth leave any hope nor excuse to the spirit of disorder. You anticipated France when you

[1] October 16, 1852.

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snatched her from danger. Know that, guided by her recollections, and inspired by her love, she opens a new road to you. FOLLOW IT!'

In the same strain the Tribunal of Commerce, the Civil Tribunal, the Court of Appeal, and a score of other official metropolitan bodies addressed the Prince. The provincial bodies followed. From every corner of France the same prayer travelled to the Tuileries. The universal demand, beyond all doubt or cavil, was the Empire. Sulky partisans of the causes which this unanimity cast into deep shade until they almost disappeared from sight growled 'Police' and 'Bribery,' and of late years these words have been revived; they were as impotent in 1852 as they are now to warp the judgment of impartial students of the origin of the Second Empire. The Empire was resuscitated by the free universal voice of France. This is as undoubted as that it was strangled, in an hour of dire peril and confusion, by enemies who had sworn allegiance to it.

Three days after his entry into Paris the Prince President convoked the Senate for the 4th of November, to take into consideration the modification of the Constitution which the nation demanded. In the interval he gladdened the people with a great act of justice. He restored Abd-el-Kader, who had been languishing in the prison of Amboise for years, to freedom on parole, and thus vindicated the honour of France, to which the Emir had confided his life and liberty when he surrendered to General Lamoricière. On the 7th of November the Senate, on the report of M. Troplong, declared, with one dissentient, the Imperial dignity re-established in the persons of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and his heirs male, and the Constitution of January 14, 1852, maintained in all its parts save those which referred to the Chief of the State. At the same time this deci-

sion was not to take effect until it had been ratified by the vote of the nation. The Prince would accept only a sovereignty that proceeded from the direct voice of the people. This vote was obtained on the 21st and 22nd of November. The Legislative Body was convoked for the 25th, to receive the results of the *plébiscite*, and to declare it.[1]

During this transition period the Prince remained in residence at St. Cloud, making occasional appearances at the Paris theatres, where he was greeted heartily. It was at St. Cloud, in the room in which the Senate had offered his uncle the Imperial crown forty-eight years before, that M. Troplong and his colleagues informed the nephew of the revival of the Imperial dignity in his person. Prince Louis said in reply: 'That which touches my heart to-day is the thought that the spirit of the Emperor is with me, that his genius guides me, that his shade protects me, since you come, in the name of the French people, to prove to me by a solemn act that I have deserved the confidence of the country. I have no need to tell you that my constant care will be to labour with you for the greatness and prosperity of France.'

By way of opposition to the nascent Empire the revolutionary committee of London, guided by Ledru-Rollin, the revolutionary society inspired by Louis Blanc, and the Jersey Democratic Socialists, led by Victor Hugo, issued violent manifestoes to the French people, in which Louis Napoleon was held up to universal execration and bespattered with foul epithets. M. Ledru-Rollin preached assassination and a *Jacquerie*; M. Louis Blanc counselled

[1] The proposition to which the people said 'Yes' or 'No' was in these words: 'Le peuple veut le rétablissement de la dignité impériale dans la personne de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, avec hérédité dans sa descendance directe, légitime ou adoptive, et lui donne le droit de régler l'ordre de succession au trône dans la famille Bonaparte, ainsi qu'il est prévu par le sénatus-consulte du 7 novembre 1852.'

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armed insurrection against an infamous perjurer and his gendarmes; M. Hugo, from his place of safety, told the people to load their guns and wait for the hour when the malefactor would be in the hands of the executioner. In singular contrast with these unpardonable appeals to violence by men who never risked a scratched hand in the cause of which they had been for many years the real enemies, since they had made liberty incompatible with order, was the temperate and dignified proclamation in which the Count of Chambord told to his countrymen that, since they had declared in favour of the monarchical form of government, they would do well to restore the Bourbons instead of the Bonapartes. The Prince President, without deigning to reply to the Count or the demagogues, ordered their utterances to be printed in the 'Moniteur.' It was the most telling rebuke he could have administered to them. On one point, and one only, did the Government of December condescend to answer their enemies.

M. Hugo and his Democratic Socialists had deliberately stated an untruth. They had affirmed that the Government tampered with the electoral urns and made false returns. 'M. Bonaparte,' said these unscrupulous and cowardly conspirators, 'holds the keys of the box in his hand; the "ayes" and the "noes" in his hand; the vote in his hand. After the work of the prefects and the mayors this highway Government shuts itself up with the urns, and rifles them. To suppress votes, alter returns, invent a grand total, forge figures—what is it after all? A lie, that matters little; a forgery, that means nothing.' The 'Moniteur,' without referring to this mendacious statement, described the guarantees adopted in order to make the least tampering with votes impossible; the selection of the polling clerks and committee by the electors; the guard set at night about the sealed urns deposited in sealed rooms; and finally the open counting of the

votes in the presence of the electors, at tables so disposed that these could circulate freely between them. CHAP. V.

The weather, on the two election days, was bad throughout France. In many parts so violent a storm raged that it was impossible for voters to reach their polling places. In the country hosts of peasants, some headed by their curés, braved swollen torrents and floods of rain, swept by the hurricane, in order to record their vote. Many of the Prince President's friends who had feared wholesale abstentions, as well as a considerable hostile vote, recruited among the Moderate Republicans and Monarchists who had supported his decennial power, looked very grave indeed when the weather appeared to favour the Prince's enemies. But there was no ground for their fears. The people showed extraordinary determination under the adverse circumstances. In Paris the aged and the sick were carried to the polling places. A general ninety-one years of age presented himself at the 8th Arrondissement, but had not the strength to ascend the staircase, and the urn was borne to his carriage. The chocolate manufacturer M. Menier, suffering from an attack of apoplexy, caused himself to be carried in an arm-chair to the poll. An old soldier of ninety presented himself, with his voting paper, in the arms of his son. The result, indeed, proved the earnestness and unanimity of the popular will.

Three days after the close of the voting the Legislative Body met to verify the result. 'I am anxious,' the Prince President remarked in his message, 'that you should formally put on record the liberty with which the voting has taken place, and the number of the suffrages given, so that the entire legitimacy of my power may be beyond dispute.' The result of the scrutiny by the Deputies was the demonstration of the extraordinary fact that 7,824,129 Frenchmen had replied 'Aye' to the

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question—Shall the Imperial dignity be re-established in the person of Prince Louis Napoleon?[1]

In 1848 five millions and a half had elected the Prince; in 1851 his supporters had increased to seven millions and a half, and in 1852 they mustered nearly eight millions!

On the 1st of December, 1852, at night, through a thick fog, a procession, consisting of nearly two hundred carriages, and directed by torch-bearers on horseback, rattled through the deserted Bois de Boulogne to the Château of St. Cloud. The dignitaries of the new Empire were bearing to Prince Louis Napoleon the Imperial crown. The ceremonial took place with much pomp in the Gallery of Apollo. Surrounded by his household, already arranged in harmony with his new dignity, the Prince, in the uniform of a general of division, with his uncle Jerome in that of a marshal of France, and his cousin Jerome in sombre black, as became his equivocal position, took his seat upon the throne. In reply to M. Billault on the part of the Legislative Body, and of M. Mesnard on the part of the Senate, he who had just been addressed as 'Sire' for the first time, said:—

'The new reign, which you inaugurate to-day, has not, like so many in history, originated in violence, conquest, or conspiracy. You have just declared it to be the legal result of the will of an entire people, who have consolidated in the midst of peace that which they founded in a period of agitation. I am full of gratitude towards the nation which, three times in four years, has supported me with its suffrages, and which on each occasion has increased its majority to add to my power.

'But the more power increases in extent and in vital force, the more does it stand in need of enlightened men

[1] The 'ayes' were 7,824,129; the 'noes,' 253,149; the votes cancelled as informal, 63,126.

Painted by A. Gibarnet. Engraved by H. Adlard.

Napoleon

London Longmans & Co.

like those who surround me daily, of independent counsellors like those to whom I now apply for advice, to keep my authority within just limits, if it could ever go beyond them.

'I assume from to-day, with the crown, the name of Napoleon III., because the logic of the people in their acclamations has already given it to me, because the Senate has legally proposed it, and because the entire nation has ratified it.

'Is this to say that, in accepting this title, I am falling into the error committed by the prince who, returning from exile, declared everything null and void which had been done in his absence? Far from me be such a blunder. I not only recognise the Governments which have preceded me, but I inherit, in a degree, the good as well as the evil they have wrought, for the Governments that succeed each other are, in spite of their different origins, responsible for their predecessors. But the more readily I accept all that during fifty years history, with its inflexible authority, transmits to us, the less could I permit myself to pass over in silence the glorious reign of the head of my family, and the regular although ephemeral title of his son, which the Chambers proclaimed in the last burst of vanquished patriotism. Therefore the title of Napoleon III. is not one of those effete dynastic pretensions which look like an insult to reason and to truth: it is homage rendered to a Government that was legitimate, and to which we owe the grandest pages of our modern history. My reign does not date from 1815: it dates from this moment, when you have come to convey to me the suffrages of the nation.

'Receive, then, my thanks, Deputies, for the *éclat* which you have given to the manifestation of the popular will by checking and verifying the suffrages, and in giving it a more imposing form by your record. I thank you

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also, Senators, for having been the first to address your congratulations to me, as you were the first to give shape to the popular desire.

'Help me, one and all, to establish in this land, troubled by so many revolutions, a stable Government, based upon religion, justice, probity, and a care for the suffering classes. Receive here my oath that no pains shall be spared by me to assure the prosperity of the country, and that I will cede nothing which affects the honour or the dignity of France.'

Among all the partisans and friends who surrounded Prince Louis Napoleon while the Empire was in course of resuscitation one, and one only, openly voted against his assumption of the Imperial dignity. That opponent had been his life-long friend, instructor, and adviser, and had become a member of his Senate. The negative vote was that of Senator Vieillard.

On the morrow of his hostile act M. Vieillard wrote to his old pupil expressing a fear that the course which his conscience had led him to adopt might sunder their intimate relations. He received the following prompt rebuke:—

'St. Cloud, November 9, 1852.

'My dear Monsieur Vieillard,—How can you believe that your vote can influence in the least degree the friendship I bear you? Come to breakfast on Thursday at eleven o'clock, as usual. The new title which I shall receive from the nation will not change our habits any more than it will alter my sentiments towards you. Receive this assurance of it. Your Friend,

'LOUIS NAPOLEON.'

And many a long and confidential conversation over the

'Saint-Cloud, 9 novembre [1852?]

'Mon cher Monsieur Vieillard, —Comment pouvez-vous croire que votre vote puisse nuire en quoi que

breakfast table did the tutor and pupil hold together afterwards in the Tuileries. CHAP. V.

ce soit à la vieille amitié que je vous porte ? Venez déjeuner jeudi à 11 h., comme à l'ordinaire, et le nouveau titre que je recevrai de la nation ne changera pas plus nos habitudes que mes sentiments pour vous. Recevez-en l'assurance. Votre ami,

'LOUIS-NAPOLÉON'

MS. in the possession of the Imperial family.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROCLAMATION.

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AMID many public rejoicings Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte ascended the throne. When, on the morrow of his elevation, he rode under triumphal arches, and between lines of soldiers and National Guards, and past hosts of his subjects massed along the road to bid him welcome to his new home at the Tuileries; while the cannon sounded and the bells rang, and the music played his mother's stirring air; while the three marshals he had created that morning [1] rode at the head of his staff, in company with the faithful Persigny; and while at the entrance to the ancient palace his kinsfolk stood to do him honour; while ten thousand men cheered him as he presented himself at the palace windows; and while to the beat of drums and bray of trumpets the Minister of War read the *plébiscite* which had re-established the Empire—there rested such a smile upon his countenance as it had, perhaps, never before worn. The dream of Arenenberg, of London, and of Ham had taken a substantial form at last; faith in his star, and constancy in one purpose, had worked the wonders at the bare idea of which men had laughed so long. The struggle had been a mighty one, stretching over the fairest part of man's life; but the triumph was mighty also. It was modestly accepted.

While the proclamation of the Empire was read with

[1] De Saint-Arnaud, Magnan, and Castellane.

stately ceremony to the crowd on the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville by the Prefect of the Seine, by the Minister of the Interior on the Place de la Concorde, and by the Minister of War to the army in the court of the Tuileries, the Emperor was bent on marking the opening of his reign, not by much feasting and spectacle, but by a series of gracious acts of charity. He visited the hospitals, founded at his own expense three public baths and washhouses in the poor quarters of the capital, and caused important sums of money to be distributed for the relief of poor children. He pursued with fresh vigour, in short, that series of reforms affecting the well-being of the masses which he had matured in exile, and which was grateful work to the humanitarian thinker.

It is true that he set up an imperial household on a lavish scale. The settlements of the branches of the Imperial family, comprehending twenty-one persons, were munificent, and most so towards those members of it who had least deserved the generosity of the head of their family. King Jerome[1] and his son, Prince Napoleon, made unfriendly mutterings between their teeth while

[1] It is curious to note that King Jerome derived his first honours on his return to France from the Barrot Ministry. Immediately on his acceptance of office, and after Prince Louis's election to the Presidency, M. Odilon Barrot addressed a letter to the President in which he observed, on the part of the Ministry :—

'If our country has suffered with so much calm and dignity the greatest and most trying ordeal to which a free people can be put, it must be attributed without doubt to the progress of our political habits; but it is permissible to attribute the honour of it also to the influence of that name which has left so dear and glorious a memory in the hearts of our countrymen.

'This union of old parties, and reconciliation of hostile opinions, is a great homage paid to the memory of the Emperor Napoleon. It was reserved for this great man to render this service after his death to his country. Could we forget in such a moment that the last surviving brother of Napoleon, General Jerome Bonaparte, still lives in our midst, henceforth apart from the conflicts of this world?'

Then followed the proposition that he should be appointed governor of the Invalides.

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they accepted the honours and emoluments which the Emperor conferred upon them. Prince Napoleon, created general of division, Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, and heir to the throne, affected a republican simplicity by appearing at the State ceremonials in black.[1] The Murats, the Caninos, and the female descendants of Napoleon were on the Civil List. It was an expensive and a not over-grateful family to provide for. But the goodnature of the chief prevailed over all his domestic conflicts and troubles; and the family was divided into two distinct categories—namely, the children of Lucien and Jerome, in whom the inheritance of the Crown was vested, and the kinsfolk outside this circle. The former were provided for by State grants, and among the latter the Emperor divided a million of francs in pensions.

The Emperor's own income was fixed at one million sterling per annum. The Grand Marshal of the Palace, Marshal Vaillant; the Grand Equerry, Marshal de Saint-Arnaud; the Grand Chamberlain, the Duke de Bassano; the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, Cambacères; First Equerry, Colonel Fleury; First Prefect of the Palace, Colonel Béville—received high salaries, and each accumulated in his person several lucrative dignities. When the Emperor took up his residence in the Tuileries none of his old servants were forgotten; all followed him thither and were gainers by his glory. The Vaudreys, De Gricourts, Bures, and Thélins each in their degree rose with the fortunes of the Prince to whom they had been faithful servitors. Thélin, the devoted valet, became Treasurer of the Privy Purse—*un monsieur!* It would have been well, indeed, for the Emperor and for France had the heart of the sovereign been less tender. Men found their

[1] 'Cet habit noir trahissait son embarras plutôt que son dédain des grandeurs monarchiques.'—*Histoire du Second Empire*, par Taxile Delord, vol. i.

way into the Tuileries in the wake of their master on the morrow of his elevation to the Imperial dignity, in the guise of friends, who were unworthy of the sovereign's friendship, and who became blots upon his reign and instruments of his overthrow.

This costly show and state which ushered in the Second Empire were the irksome part of the Imperial position to the Prince of simple habits and studious tastes who adopted them. He believed them, however, to be a necessary part of the new régime. The French people delighted in high ceremonials, stately processions, fêtes of dazzling magnificence; in a sovereign encompassed by a gorgeous staff, in feasts and balls right royally ordered. The Imperial Court must reflect the pride and genius of France, and stand in striking contrast with the affected simplicity of the Republic and the miserly and shabby state of the Monarchy of July. The most splendid of Courts in the most splendid of capitals was a dominant idea in the mind of the Prince when he took his first night's rest in the Tuileries on December 2, 1852, after a small dinner and a quiet reception.

But he, as he had written to his old friend Vieillard, would remain the simple man in the midst of the state. He would change none of his habits. De Persigny suggested that a daily Court Circular should be sent to the papers; and he backed his suggestion by observing that this report of the movements of the Court was one of the causes of British loyalty to the Crown—the fact being that it is one of its consequences. The Emperor laughed at the notion of having his coming and going, and all the small acts of his life, put on record in the newspapers. He was, however, convinced against his will; and the duty of furnishing the Court Circular to the press was confided to the Duke de Bassano. The Duke accordingly waited on the Emperor in his cabinet

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one morning, to learn what his Majesty had done yesterday.

'What I did yesterday!' said the Emperor, who had forgotten the formal chronicle with which France was to be edified. 'What can that matter to you? What do you mean?'

The Duke explained; whereupon the Emperor laughed and shook his head, saying: 'No, no; that cannot interest intelligent human beings.' And the Court Circular was dropped.

The main act which accompanied the accession of Prince Louis Napoleon to the throne was one of far-reaching clemency. He opened the prison-door to all soldiers and sailors under punishment, and to all press offenders; and he extended free pardon to nearly two thousand political prisoners and exiles, and offered it to all who would return to their country making their submission to the new order of things. Feeling that order was secured, he showed at this period, and throughout his reign, the most anxious desire to be generous to his enemies in a way that would enable them to accept his generosity without compromising their past. At the same time he took measures to strengthen his personal power. With the advent of the Empire an important change in Parliamentary procedure was carried by the Senate. It was enacted that the Legislative Body should, for the future, vote the Budget *en bloc*, by Ministries, without the power to pull the estimates to pieces or to reject items. At the same time authority was given to the Emperor to conclude treaties of commerce without submitting them to the Assembly for ratification. This and other minor changes placed in Imperial hands the purse-strings, as well as the commercial fortunes, of the country: they made the Government almost absolute.

For their justification it is necessary to revert to the

state of public affairs when the Emperor was first entrusted with absolute power, and at the same time to bear in mind the principle of authority which was the backbone of his theory of government.[1] In the hands of a bad, self-seeking man such power as that which was embodied in Napoleon III., on his accession to the throne, might have led France to moral and material ruin; but the prince to whom she had confided her destinies was liberal, wise, and humane, and he used the mighty force he held as a sacred trust, of which France might ask him an account at any moment. According to his light he sought the happiness of his country, with a passionate longing to see it great and prosperous. Hence the all but absolute power he held, at the opening of his reign, conferred substantial and lasting benefits on his subjects.

The enemies of the Emperor who had endeavoured to harm him after the *coup d'état*, by representing him as eager to resume his uncle's career of conqueror, and above all to avenge Waterloo, altered their tactics after the proclamation of the Empire. Now the cry was that a European coalition was forming to attack Louis Napoleon for having broken the Treaties of 1815, which excluded the Bonaparte family from the throne of France. But it soon died away before 'the logic of facts.' Lord Malmesbury, against the protests of the three great Powers, alleged to be founded on the Treaty of Vienna and a strong public opinion at home, hastened to recognise the new Emperor under the title of Napoleon III., and he hereby secured that cordial alliance with France which the Emperor never ceased to culti-

[1] At the same time power was given to the Legislative Body to support their amendments to any law, by commission, before the Council of State; and a permanent commission for the reception and examination of petitions to the Emperor was nominated.

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vate. The great Powers sulkily, but swiftly, followed.[1] So that Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans were constrained to cast about once more for weapons, and for a while to leave the Empire to its work, and France to the development of that era of commercial prosperity which was dawning upon her. Within one year her revenue, derived from indirect taxes, had increased by nearly sixty-one millions of francs; the three per cents. had risen from 56 to 82 francs, and the four and a half per cents. (the old five per cents.) stood at 105 francs. In the railway market the value of stock generally had doubled; and on all sides, and in every department of industry, there was a brisk trade.

The Empire being thus happily founded, France being prosperous, Europe on excellent terms with her, and the epoch of revolution appearing to be closed, rumours of the Emperor's approaching marriage began to be circulated in society. Gossips had given the new sovereign to many princesses. Enemies had represented him as begging at various Courts for a wife, as the Duke of Orleans had begged, and as having suffered a rebuff in Austria and Prussia. The Emperor put an end to the wild gossip and the malevolent rumours by summoning deputations of the Senate and the Legislative Body, as well as the Council of State and the great dignitaries of the Empire, to the Tuileries, on January 22, to hear the following address from the throne:—

'I accede to the wish so often manifested by the nation in announcing my marriage to you. The union which I

[1] 'L'Europe entière, dans l'espace d'un mois, a reconnu la légitimité de son nouveau titre—l'Europe sans exception, depuis l'Empereur de Russie jusqu'au Vicaire du Christ; depuis l'Angleterre, qui refusa de reconnaitre Napoléon Ier, jusqu'au Bourbon de Naples, parent du Comte de Chambord.'—*Histoire complète du Prince Louis-Napoléon, depuis sa Naissance jusqu'au 2 Décembre* 1851. Par MM. Gallix et Guy. Tome ii. Paris, Morel. 1853.

am about to contract is not in harmony with old political traditions; and in this lies the advantage of it. France, by her successive revolutions, has been widely sundered from the rest of Europe. A wise government should so rule as to bring her back within the circle of the ancient monarchies. But this result will be more readily attained by a frank and straightforward policy, by a loyal intercourse, than by royal alliances, which often create a false security and substitute family for national interests. Moreover, past examples have left superstitious beliefs in the popular mind. The people have not forgotten that for sixty years foreign princesses have only ascended the steps of the throne to see their race scattered or proscribed by war or revolution. One woman alone appears to have brought good fortune, and to have lived, more than the rest, in the memory of the people; and this woman, the good and homely wife of General Bonaparte, was not of royal blood.

'We must admit this, however: in 1810 the marriage of Napoleon I. with Marie Louise was a great event. It was a bond for the future, and a real satisfaction to the national pride, since the ancient and illustrious House of Austria, which had waged war with us so long, was seen courting an alliance with the elected chief of the new Empire. During the last reign, on the contrary, did not the national pride suffer when the heir to the throne solicited in vain, during several years, an alliance with a reigning family; and when he obtained in the end a princess, accomplished no doubt, but only of the second rank, and of another religion?

'When, in the face of ancient Europe, one is carried, by the force of a new principle, to the level of the old dynasties, it is not by affecting an ancient descent, and endeavouring at any price to enter the family of kings, that one compels recognition. It is rather by remembering

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one's origin, by preserving one's own character, and assuming frankly towards Europe the position of parvenu—a glorious title when one rises (*lorsqu'on parvient*) by the free suffrages of a great people.

'Thus, compelled as I was to part from the precedents which have been hitherto followed, my marriage became only a private matter. It remained for me to choose my wife. She who has become the object of my choice is of lofty birth. French in heart, by education, by the memory of the blood shed by her father in the cause of the Empire, she has, as a Spaniard, the advantage of not having a family in France to whom it would be necessary to give honours and dignities. Gifted with every quality of the heart, she will be the ornament of the throne, as in the hour of danger she would be one of its most courageous defenders. A pious Catholic, she will address one prayer with me to Heaven for the happiness of France. Kindly and good, she will show, in the same position, I firmly believe, the virtues of the Empress Josephine.

'I come to-day, gentlemen, to say to France: "I have preferred a woman, whom I love and respect, to an unknown woman, an alliance with whom would have brought advantages mixed with sacrifices. Without showing disdain towards anybody, I yield to my inclination, after having consulted my reason and my convictions. In fine, in putting independence, the qualities of the heart, and domestic happiness above dynastic prejudices and the dreams of ambition, I shall not be less strong, since I shall be freer. Soon, on my way to Notre Dame, I shall present the Empress to the people and the army. The confidence which they repose in me secures their sympathies towards her whom I have chosen; and you, gentlemen, when you have learned to know her, will be convinced that, once again, I have been inspired by Providence."'

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On the morrow the 'Moniteur' announced that the lady on whom the Emperor's choice had fallen was Mademoiselle de Montijo, Countess de Teba. The news was received with satisfaction, and the Emperor's brave speech was applauded in every part of Europe. The English press was unanimous in commending it. 'Nothing,' said the 'Times,' 'could be in better taste or more modest than the phrase in which the Emperor adopts the title and position of parvenu, keeping his origin clearly before him, preserving his independence, and emancipating himself from the traditions of States where the bases of society have not been destroyed nor monarchical institutions suffered ruin.'

The 'Morning Post' discerned in the Emperor's choice a new link between him and the French people, that would give additional stability to his throne.

CHAPTER VII.

MADEMOISELLE EUGÉNIE DE MONTIJO.

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In 1818 Mr. George Ticknor, who was travelling in Spain, wrote home to his friends in America:—

'I knew Madame de Teba in Madrid, when she was there on a visit last summer; and from what I saw of her then and here [Malaga], where I saw her every day, I do not doubt she is the most cultivated and the most interesting woman in Spain. Young and beautiful, educated strictly and faithfully by her mother, a Scotchwoman—who, for this purpose, carried her to London and Paris, and kept her there between six and seven years—possessing extraordinary talents, and giving an air of originality to all she says and does, she unites, in a most bewitching manner, the Andalusian grace and frankness to a French facility in her manners and a genuine English thoroughness in her knowledge and accomplishments. She knows the five chief modern languages well, and feels their different characters, and estimates their literatures aright. She has the foreign accomplishments of singing, playing, painting, &c., and the national one of dancing, in a high degree. In conversation she is brilliant and original; and yet with all this she is a true Spaniard, and as full of Spanish feelings as she is of talent and culture. One night I saw her play, in the house of one of her friends, before about fifty people, the chief part in Quintana's tragedy of "Pelayo." The whole exhibition of the evening was interesting, and especially so to

me, for it was got up in the true old Spanish style—first with a *Loa* to the governor, then the tragedy, then an *Entremes*; afterwards a *Tonadilla*, in national costume, followed by the *Bolero*; and, finally, a *Saynete*. But it was the Countess de Teba—who played her part like a Corinne, and, who, in fact, has more reminded me of Corinne than any woman I have seen—that carried off every movement of approbation.'

Thirty years later M. de Puibusque, the author of a comparative history of French literature, and that of Spain, being in Boston, and much with Mr. Ticknor, spoke with great admiration of the Countess de Montijo, dwelling on the brilliancy of her talents and the variety of her culture and accomplishments. Mr. Ticknor said he had known but one lady in Spain to whom such a description could apply, and had believed her to be the only one; but she was Countess de Teba. M. de Puibusque explained that it was the same person, under a title later inherited. Mr. Ticknor mentioned this in a letter to Don Pascual de Gayangos (August 20, 1849), and sent a message to Madame de Montijo, who recollected him and returned his greeting.

Count Cesare Balbo, writing from Madrid to Mr. Ticknor in the autumn of 1818, remarked: 'You may judge if I was pleased by the news you gave me of the arrival of the Countess de Teba. I do not say, have not said, and will not say, that she is a mere pretty Andalusian woman; willingly, and exactly as you yourself regarded her, *the most interesting Spanish lady*.'[1]

This lady was the mother of Mademoiselle Eugénie de Montijo. Curiously enough, it is from another American author that we get an early glimpse of the Montijo

[1] *The Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor.* James R. Osgood and Co., Boston, 1876.

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family. Washington Irving wrote from Washington to Mrs. Pierre M. Irving in 1853 :—

'I believe I have told you that I knew the grandfather of the Empress—old Mr. Kirkpatrick, who had been American Consul at Malaga. I passed an evening at his house in 1827, near Adra, on the west of the Mediterranean. A week or two after I was at the house of his son-in-law, the Count Teba, at Granada—a gallant, intelligent gentleman, much cut up in the wars, having lost an eye and been maimed in a leg and hand. His wife, the daughter of Mr. Kirkpatrick, was absent; but he had a family of little girls, mere children, about him. The youngest of these must have been the present Empress. Several years afterwards, when I had recently taken up my abode in Madrid, I was invited to a grand ball at the house of the Countess Montijo, one of the leaders of the *ton*. On making my bow to her, I was surprised at being received by her with the warmth and eagerness of an old friend. She claimed me as the friend of her late husband, the Count Teba (subsequently Marquis Montijo), who, she said, had often spoken of me with the greatest regard. She took me into another room and showed me a miniature of the Count, such as I had known him, with a black patch over one eye.[1] She subsequently introduced me to the little girls I had known at Granada—now fashionable belles at Madrid.

'After this I was frequently at her house, which was one of the gayest in the capital. The Countess and her daughters all spoke English. The eldest daughter was married, while I was in Madrid, to the Duke of Alva and Berwick, the lineal successor to the pretender to the British Crown. The other now sits on the throne of France.'

[1] The Count lost an eye at the battle of Salamanca.

Through Mrs. Stopford, the sister-in-law of Walter Savage Landor, we catch another glimpse of Madame de Montijo. She was Mrs. Stopford's friend, and after Colonel Stopford's death the widow found a home under the illustrious lady's roof. Landor, only a few months before he passed away, expressed his gratitude in some lines which he addressed to the Empress Eugénie.[1] Threads of sympathy, it so happened, drew him towards both the Emperor and the Empress.[2]

But the earliest picture we have of the lady who was destined to share the throne of Napoleon III. is one in Prosper Mérimée's 'Lettres à une Inconnue,' dated February 7, 1843. He describes himself as scouring Paris to buy dresses and bonnets, 'all for the daughters of Madame de M——.' He was commissioned to select fancy dresses for the two young ladies. For the younger, Mademoiselle Eugénie, he had decided upon the costume of a shepherdess. He described her as 'très-grande, très-blanche, prodigieusement belle, avec les cheveux qu'aimait le Titien.'

Mademoiselle Eugénie de Montijo, Countess de Teba, was a daughter of one of the most illustrious families of Spain. The House of Guzman traces back its origin to

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'Although I neither love nor hate
Those whom the vulgar call the great,
My heart is rais'd as bends my knee,
Bright lodestar of thy sex, to thee.
She whom my Stopford boasts for his
Thy girlish smile afar must miss.
On high Castilia's breezy plains,
Loved by thy mother, she remains,
And makes her at some hours forget
Her loss, and find a daughter yet.'

Forster's Life of Landor.

[2] In an account of Landor, written shortly after his death, it was stated that at the very time of his meeting Louis Napoleon in Bath (1846) 'there was in a boarding-school twelve miles off, on the Clifton downs, a pretty girl who is now Empress of France.'

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the earliest days of the Spanish monarchy, and counts among its heroes the famous Alonzo Perez de Guzman, who, being governor of Talifa in 1291, allowed the Moors to decapitate his son rather than give up the citadel. Hence the device of the House—'Mas pesa el rey que la sangue.' The families of Medina-Cœli, Las Torres, Medina, Sidonia, and Olivares are, like the Montijo family, branches of the Guzmans. There is, moreover, royal blood in the De Montijo race. Mademoiselle Eugénie was grand-niece of Alfonso X. Nor was this lady the first Guzman to sit upon a throne. In the seventeenth century Doña Luiza Francisca de Guzman married the Duke of Braganza, afterwards King Juan IV. of Portugal. The Counts de Montijo, moreover, descend from the royal House of Acuna. Count Victor de Hamel, in his history of the Spanish monarchy, remarks that 'the great and illustrious House of Porto-Carrero, Counts de Montijo (one of whom was the famous cardinal who, under Charles II. of Austria, exercised so powerful an influence over the destinies of Spain), descend in direct male line from the ancient patrician family who, in 1339, gave Genoa her first Doge.' Doña Maria Francisca de Porto-Carrero was a De Montijo.[1] A Doge of Genoa, a Queen of Portugal, and a King Leon of the Asturias and Gallicia, as well as illustrious soldiers and churchmen, were, then, among the ancestry of the beautiful lady with the hair which Titian loved who had consented to share the throne of Napoleon III. Her father, the Count de Montijo, had fought with great distinction under Napoleon. Having rallied to the cause of King Joseph, he distinguished himself and was wounded

[1] Doña Maria Francisca de Porto-Carrero, Countess de Montijo, who died in exile at Logroño in 1808, was a distinguished writer, as well as the hostess of a brilliant literary salon at Madrid. Her house was denounced as a Jansenist centre, and she was so persecuted as to be finally compelled to retire from Court to Logroño, where she died young, leaving behind her the reputation of a virtuous and charitable woman.

at Salamanca, and was with the French army in 1814. It was to Colonel de Montijo, colonel of artillery, that Napoleon confided the fortification of Paris when the city was menaced by the Allies in 1814; and it was he who, at the head of the Polytechnic School, was appointed to defend the Buttes Chaumont. Persecuted and imprisoned under Ferdinand VII. for his participation in the wars of the Empire, he was one of the first grandees who were called to the Senate when Spain recovered her liberties. A thorough Liberal, a man of enlightened views, rich, and with a hand always open to the appeals of charity, and married, as we have seen, to a lady of extraordinary merit,[1] his house in Madrid was the resort of the most cultivated society. So much for the paternal ancestry of the Emperor's affianced bride.

The extraordinary grace and beauty of Mademoiselle de Montijo had given her a queenly place in the society of London, as well as in that of Paris, before the attentions of the Prince President to his beautiful guest pointed her out as the future Empress. After the death of M. de Montijo in 1839, Madame de Montijo had spent years with her two daughters in Italy, England, and France. The young ladies had received their education partly in England, but chiefly in Paris, and had had the inestimable advantage of converse with some of the foremost intellects of the time, with whom their mother had friendly relations. The Count de Montijo had filled the minds of his children with admiration for the glory and genius of the great captain in whose service he had been covered with wounds; so that when Henri Beyle—better known by his *nom de plume* of Stendhal—repaired every evening to the hôtel of Madame de Montijo in Paris to read French with her young daughters, and to exercise

[1] Madame de Montijo is the daughter of a branch of the Kirkpatricks of Closeburn, who settled in Spain after the fall of the Stuarts.

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them in conversation, he found enthusiastic listeners to his brilliant stories of the Napoleonic legend. Beyle was the intimate friend of Prosper Mérimée, and the two were wont to spend their evenings in the salon of Madame de Montijo, the former entertaining the young ladies from eight to nine—the hour at which they were regularly sent to bed—with anecdotes of their father's idol. Mademoiselle Eugénie most delighted in these relations with the old Imperial soldier and the brilliant man of letters. There was an intrepid spirit latent in the young girl with the golden hair, which warmed to Stendhal's stories, for they seemed to be echoes of the voice of her father, who had been an actor in many of them.

According to the Emperor, who himself wrote an article on his wife[1] on the eve of her fête day in 1868, the Countess de Montijo went to Paris with her two daughters in 1838, and placed them in the convent of the Sacré Cœur. 'Pupil of the Sacré Cœur,' the Emperor remarked, 'she who was to be one day Empress of the French, and who was then called the young Countess de Teba, acquired, we may say, the French language before the Spanish.' Of the life of the Montijo family on their return to Spain the Emperor observes: 'Those who visited Madrid at that epoch will remember the hospitable salon which the foremost intellect of all countries—diplomatists, men of letters, or artists—seemed to make their rendezvous. All combined to praise the supreme distinction with which, by her *esprit* and affability, the Countess de Montijo did the honours of a society of which her two daughters were the ornaments. The elder was soon espoused to the Duke of Alva. The younger attracted attention by her sweet and lively character. Surrounded mostly by persons whose sympathies

[1] *Le Dix Décembre*, December 15, 1868. The Emperor often contributed to this journal.

were with bygone times, her strong and precocious intelligence rejected many of their ideas; and, perhaps unconsciously influenced by the impressions of the years she had passed with her father, or by her French education, or by a naturally generous enthusiasm, she was often heard arguing on the side of modern ideas and of progress. Her ardent imagination sought food for its worthy aspirations towards the beautiful and the useful; and she was often known to pass many hours studying the works of Fourier. Her friends laughed, and called her "la Phalanstérienne." It was impossible not to admire this young girl of eighteen preoccupied to such a degree by these social problems, and seeming to prepare herself by such meditation for some high and mysterious destiny.

'A curious incident of her life deserves notice. Always drawn towards those who suffer, interested in all who are oppressed, she conceived a great sympathy for the prince who, victim of his convictions, was prisoner at Ham; and her young voice urged her mother to allow her to carry such consolation as might be possible to the captive. The Countess de Montijo had decided, it is said, to undertake this pious pilgrimage, when it was suddenly put aside by untoward circumstances.'

When the De Montijo family returned to Paris, they heard further accounts of the Prince, which heightened the romantic interest he had already awakened in the younger daughter of the brave Count de Teba.[1] It was, then, with the keenest interest that Mademoiselle de Montijo watched the extraordinary turn in the fortunes of Prince Louis—his escape from Ham, his return to

[1] The father of the Empress Eugénie should not be confounded with the Count de Montijo—a kind of Spanish Mirabeau—who figured in the successive insurrectionary movements from the Aranjuz *émeute* to the return of the Bourbons.

Paris, and finally his election as President of the Republic.

When the Prince was installed at the Élysée Madame de Montijo and her daughter were presented to him by their friend the Count Bacciocchi, and the future Empress met her lord for the first time.

'This sorely-tried prince,' said the Emperor in his article, 'she was to see some years later, not in the confinement of a dungeon, but raised by national acclamation to the head of a great State; she was to exercise on him the attractions of her beauty, of her *esprit*, and of the supreme nobility of her sentiments: she was to become a part of his existence, and to share his destiny.'

During 1849 and 1850 Madame de Montijo and her daughters were absent from Paris; but they returned in 1851, and another brilliant salon was added to the circle of French society. On the eve of the *coup d'état* the young lady, who had recovered her personal fortune, which had been confiscated during the troubles in Spain, secretly wrote a letter to Count Bacciocchi, telling him she placed all she possessed at the disposal of the Prince in the event of a reverse. Her enthusiasm had suffered no abatement, but had rather been intensified, by the struggle against the hostile Burgraves and men of the Mountain which Prince Louis had valorously and skilfully maintained. Count Bacciocchi kept Mademoiselle de Montijo's letter until after the success of the *coup d'état*, when he showed it to the President.

The Prince was more than flattered—he was deeply moved—by the devotion of the proud beauty of illustrious lineage who had cast her fortune at his feet in her devotion to the cause which her brave father had first taught her to love. Thenceforth Mademoiselle de Montijo and her mother were constant guests at the Élysée, and were of the Fontainebleau and Compiègne parties; and the

Prince President was drawn nearer and still nearer to his fascinating guest. In the autumn of 1852, after the Prince's tour in the South, the De Montijo ladies were among his visitors at Fontainebleau. Mademoiselle de Montijo, who was an intrepid rider, having been one day in at the death of the deer, received the foot from the hands of the Prince. Presently Equerry Fleury rode up to the lady, and told her that, according to the etiquette of the hunting field, as heroine of the day she must ride back to the château by the Prince's side. This triumphant return, which Mademoiselle de Montijo regarded only as a custom in the field, but which was a ruse adopted to mark the preference of the Prince, gave rise to many heartburns and exhibitions of jealousy. These became very hard for the young lady to bear later in the autumn, when she was the Prince President's guest at Compiègne. Lady Clementina Davies, in her 'Recollections of Society in France and England,' relates some of the stories that travelled about society in Paris towards the end of 1852 and after the Emperor's marriage, in which the mortification of young ladies who had cherished imperial dreams took the most absurd forms.[1] Among other tales, Lady Clementina gives one the scene of which she erroneously places at St. Cloud, and which her imagination has filled up. The real scene was Compiègne, and at the time Prince Louis was not yet Emperor.

One afternoon, when many of the guests were out riding, the Prince and Mademoiselle de Montijo—both intrepid riders—outstripped and lost the rest of the party. They had not returned at the dinner hour. 'Lady C——,' according to Lady Clementina, 'who was among the guests, looked anxious at the prolonged absence of Mademoiselle de Montijo. At last, however, the Prince returned, and with him Mademoiselle de Montijo, whom he introduced, for the first time, in the course of that

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evening as his intended bride; for during that prolonged and momentous ride he had proposed to her and been accepted.'[1]

But, in truth, the course of love did not run as swift nor as smooth as this. It was at Compiègne, it is true, that the Prince first made known his passion to his future wife; but the betrothal took place later.

Meantime the gossips were busy; and the rumour soon ran through society, and from society to the public, that the affections of the Prince President were fixed upon the lovely Spanish countess 'with the hair Titian loved,' who had created so profound a sensation by her beauty, and the grace, sweetness, and vivacity of her character, at the Court of the new Empire. At the Opera all glasses were raised to the De Montijo box. The papers described Mademoiselle de Montijo as the reigning

[1] 'The announcement, though received with smiles, was by no means a pleasant one to all the guests assembled at St. Cloud at that time; for many were the ambitious ladies about the Court of France and elsewhere who aspired to unite their fate with that of the then newly-proclaimed Emperor. Indeed, one lady, a Miss S——, to whom his Majesty had paid some attention, regarded herself as so much injured because she was not chosen as his consort that, at a large reception given by Lady C——[1] after the Imperial marriage had taken place, she, though sitting close to the door through which the Emperor and Empress entered, refused to rise with the rest of the company until after the Empress, who preceded the Emperor, had passed her. The Emperor was quick to observe the insult to his bride; and though Miss S—— suddenly stood up as he approached her, he not only refrained from the slightest recognition of her, but, after looking at her as though she were an utter stranger to him, he stood with his back turned towards her, until she became scarlet with annoyance and visibly bit her lips with rage.

'Her presumption had met with a severe rebuke; and there were few, if any, inclined to commiserate her mortification, because all present were won by the condescending and gentle manners of the Empress, who, by showing no sign of undue pride after her elevation, converted those who might have been her enemies into friends.'—*Recollections of Society in France and England*, by Lady Clementina Davies, 1872.

[1] Probably Cowley.

beauty at the Élysée, and afterwards at the Tuileries, or as she appeared in her eighteenth-century hunting costume at Compiègne or Fontainebleau. Her portraits appeared in the shop-windows. The public curiosity became so sharp that crowds assembled around their carriage when the young lady and her mother entered a shop. It was whispered that the Emperor's resolve to wed the Countess de Teba had given rise to violent family scenes among the Bonapartists and to vehement protestations on the part of Ministers. This gossip was probably raised by an incident which happened at the New Year ball of 1853, given by the Emperor at the Tuileries; at any rate, it had no more serious foundation.

As the company were passing to the supper room Mademoiselle de Montijo and Madame Fortoul, wife of the Minister of Public Instruction, reached one of the doors together. Madame Fortoul, mastered by that jealousy of the fortunate lady which was general at Court, rudely rebuked Mademoiselle de Montijo for attempting to take precedence of her. The young lady drew aside with great dignity before this affront, and when she entered the supper room the pallor and trouble in her face at once attracted the notice of the Emperor as she took her place at his Majesty's table. In great anxiety he rose and passed behind her chair to ask what had happened.

'What is the matter? Pray tell me.'

The marked and sympathetic attention of the Emperor drew all eyes upon the lady, who became covered with confusion.

'I implore you, sire, to leave me,' she answered. 'Everybody is looking at us.'

Troubled and perplexed, the Emperor took the earliest opportunity of renewing his enquiry.

'I insist upon knowing. What is it?'

'It is this, sire,' the lady now answered haughtily, the blood mantling her cheek: 'I have been insulted to-night, and I will not expose myself to a second insult.'

'To-morrow,' said the Emperor, in a low, kind voice, 'nobody will dare to insult you again.'

Returned home, Madame de Montijo and her daughter, their Spanish blood thoroughly roused, made hasty preparations to leave Paris for Italy. On the morrow morning, however, the mother received a letter from the Emperor, in which he formally asked the hand of Mademoiselle Eugénie de Montijo in marriage; and the ladies within a few days removed from their apartments to the Élysée, which was assigned to the Emperor's betrothed.

Within a month Mademoiselle de Montijo sat on the throne at the Tuileries beside Napoleon III.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE MARRIAGE.

CHAP. VIII.

THE announcement of the Emperor's engagement to Mademoiselle de Montijo in the 'Moniteur'[1] was the first official intimation of it to the public. It had an excellent effect in allaying the unquiet feeling which had been raised by the rumour that Prince Napoleon was the Emperor's adopted heir—a rumour which sent the Funds down. If heart-burnings and quarrels had existed within the circle of the Imperial family while the Emperor was paying marked attentions to Mademoiselle de Montijo, they ceased when the marriage was finally arranged; and the Princess Mathilde announced herself as ready to bear the bride's train in Notre Dame.

The wedding preparations were carried forward with spirit. The papers were filled with details of the splendour that was preparing. The state coaches of the First Empire were re-burnished, and drawn from the Trianon at Versailles to Paris; the Crown diamonds were con-

[1] 'Un événement heureux, destiné à consolider le gouvernement de sa Majesté impériale et à assurer l'avenir de la dynastie, est sur le point de s'accomplir. L'Empereur épouse mademoiselle de Montijo, comtesse de Téba. Ce mariage doit être annoncé officiellement aux grands corps de l'État samedi prochain, 22. La célébration aura lieu le samedi suivant, 29. Mademoiselle de Montijo, d'une très-grande famille de l'Espagne, est sœur de la duchesse d'Albe. Elle est aussi distinguée par la supériorité de son esprit que par les charmes d'une beauté accomplie.' The elder Mademoiselle de Montijo had married the Duke of Berwick and Alva in 1845. She died on September 16, 1860.

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veyed from the Ministry of Finance (where they had lain since February 1848) to the keeping of the Minister of State, who prepared them to deck the Imperial bride; hundreds of needles were busy over the trousseau, the rich and rare items of which gave plentiful material to *chroniqueurs*; the chamberlains of the palace became absorbed in the details of the civil and religious ceremonies of January 29 and 30; and the Court upholsterers worked night and day to complete the private apartments of the bride in the Flora Pavilion of the Tuileries.

The Emperor was radiant. His marriage was not only the satisfaction of his own inclinations; it was already generally accepted, at home and abroad, as an act of courageous independence that would fortify his throne and strengthen his foreign relations. The foreign press, with hardly an exception, applauded it. The 'Times' held it to be a wise and dignified alliance in harmony with the Emperor's principles and position, and drew a portrait of the future Empress which more than justified her brilliant destiny. 'It is impossible,' said the leading journal, 'to have remarked her personal attractions, the distinction of her carriage, and the vivacity of her character (and many of us have had opportunities for observation in the course of her visits to England) without feeling more than an ordinary interest in her extraordinary destiny. Down to this time she has owed little to France save the refinements of her education, although she knows better the character of the nation over which she is called to reign than any princess who could have been fetched from a German principality. She combines, by her birth, the energy of the Spanish and Scotch races; and, if the opinion we hold of her be correct, she is, as Napoleon says, made not only to adorn the throne, but to defend it in the hour of danger.'

The grace and gentleness with which the Imperial

bride met the great change in her state when, on her becoming affianced to the Emperor, she was removed to the Élysée, and surrounded with Imperial pomp and circumstance, disarmed every kind of opposition, and brought all the dignitaries of the Empire to her feet. The Emperor watched the rapid progress which his betrothed made in the hearts of his countrymen with a joy that moved him out of his habitual calm. When the Municipal Council of the Seine voted 600,000 francs to purchase a diamond necklace for the Imperial bride, and she declined the diamonds, but accepted the money for the poor,[1] this most womanly act was received throughout France as one that proved the worthiness of the future Empress. The people now heartily sanctioned the step to which the Emperor's heart and reason had moved him.

'I am touched,' Mademoiselle de Montijo wrote to the Prefect of the Seine on the eve of her marriage, 'by the generous decision of the Municipal Council, who thus manifest their sympathetic adhesion to the union which the Emperor is about to contract. It is painful to me, nevertheless, to think that the first public act connected with my name at the moment of my marriage should be a heavy burden for the city of Paris. Permit me, then, to decline your gift, flattering as it is to me. You will make me happier by devoting to charity the sum you had fixed for the purchase of the necklace which the Municipal Council desired to offer me. I do not wish my marriage to be the occasion of any new burden for the country to which I belong henceforth. My only ambition is to share with the Emperor the love and esteem of the French people.'

The Emperor placed a pocket-book containing 250,000 francs in the bride's *corbeille de mariage*. She

[1] The money was devoted to the foundation and maintenance of an orphan asylum for girls in the Rue Cassette.

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opened it, and distributed 100,000 francs among the maternal societies, devoting the rest to the foundation of additional beds in the Hospice des Incurables. Graced with these acts of charity, the Imperial bride appeared for the first time to the people of Paris on the evening of January 29, 1852. A crowd extended from the Élysée to the gates of the Tuileries as the bridal party, in two Court carriages, preceded by the Grand Master of the Ceremonies, passed along, and her Excellency the Countess de Teba was saluted with hearty cheers all the way. At the Tuileries she was received on the threshold of her future home by the Grand Chamberlain and the rest of the Court dignitaries, who conducted her to the first salon, where she was met by Prince Napoleon and the Princess Mathilde, who introduced her to the drawing-room, in which the Emperor, with his uncle King Jerome, and surrounded by a glittering throng of cardinals, marshals, admirals, ministers, and great officers of state, stood to receive her. Hence, at nine in the evening, Napoleon led his bride to the Hall of Marshals, crowded with a distinguished company, and conducted her to a place beside himself on the throne. The civil ceremony, performed by M. Fould as Minister of State, then proceeded; the contract being borne upon a table to the throne, while the President of the Council of State handed the pen successively to the bridegroom and bride, and then to the princes and princesses present, for their signatures.

The pageant was a gorgeous one.[1] The bride wore the priceless dress of Alençon point which had been the subject of conversation all over Paris for many days, clasped with the diamond and sapphire belt of the Empress Marie Louise; and she looked the imperial beauty of a poet's vision. The Emperor over his

[1] See Appendix VIII.

general's uniform displayed the collar of the Legion of Honour which Napoleon I. used to wear, and which King Jerome had handed to his nephew. The bridegroom was decorated also with the identical collar of the Golden Fleece which had been about the neck of Charles V. The cardinals, marshals, State dignitaries, Ministers, Senators, and Deputies glittered in their robes and regimentals, the breasts of many being ablaze with orders. When the wedding company assembled in the theatre, after the signature of the marriage contract, to hear the cantata written by Méry and composed by Auber, the scene betokened the material splendours that were to be part of the new régime. The Empress, robed in lace and flashing with jewels, seemed to realise Méry's lines as, with her stately Spanish grace, she glided by the Emperor's side to her place :—

Espagne bien-aimée,
Où le ciel est vermeil,
C'est toi qui l'a formée
D'un rayon de soleil.

At the conclusion of the cantata the Grand Master of the Ceremonies conducted her Majesty back to the Élysée.

On the morrow betimes all Paris was in the streets, and myriads of men and women were massed along the right and the left banks of the Seine to see the State wedding procession move to Notre Dame and back to the Tuileries. Early in the morning the Emperor repaired to the Élysée, where, with the Empress, he attended mass and received the Sacrament; and then the august couple set forth for Notre Dame with pomp the like of which had not gratified the sight of the Parisians since the baptism of the King of Rome.[1] The golden hair of

[1] The railways had deposited 200,000 sightseers from the provinces in the capital since the break of day.

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the Empress was clasped by the crown which Napoleon I. had placed upon the head of Marie Louise. The bridal party occupied the state carriages which had served at the coronation of Napoleon I., that of their Majesties being drawn by eight horses, with a squadron of guides and a regiment of heavy cavalry for escort.

In Notre Dame a vast amphitheatre had been raised about the principal altar, before which, under a lofty canopy, upon a raised platform, were the state chairs of the royal couple. The amphitheatre was filled with the Diplomatic Body, the Senators, Deputies, and Councillors of State; the galleries were given up to the wives of ambassadors and State dignitaries, and in the nave the first row of chairs was reserved for the marshals, admirals, the Grand Chancellor, and the grand crosses of the Legion of Honour. The reverberation of salutes, which told that brilliant host massed in the sombre lights of the ancient cathedral that the Emperor and his bride had left the Tuileries, caused a general movement, that revealed itself in flashes of colour from coronets, stars, scabbards, and gold and silver lace, upon which the light played through the stained glass. As the booming of the cannon went on, and the sounds of martial music first faintly stole and then clashed and echoed under the sacred roof, the doors of the great porch were thrown wide open, a broad silver path of light swept to the estrade and the altar, and the robed Archbishop of Paris, preceded by his clergy, was seen moving slowly forward to meet the wedding party. At the same time troops of ambassadors and ministers hurried to their places, and the cheering without heralded the approach of the bride and bridegroom. The procession of the clergy under the porch darkened the aisle for a few moments, and then it turned and moved towards the altar. The immense congregation rose, the clatter of swords almost drowned by the

solemn notes of the Wedding March; and the Emperor appeared, leading his bride, with the Regent diamond sparkling on her bosom.

The marriage rite was performed by the Archbishop,[1] the Bishop of Nancy presenting the pieces of gold and the ring upon a gold salver to be blessed. The Empress flashed with the light of the jewels in her dress as she moved from the throne to the altar, and as, after the benediction, she crossed her brow, her lips, her heart, with her thumb, in the Spanish fashion. The ceremony at an end, the Archbishop led the bride and bridegroom back to the cathedral porch; and the Imperial pair returned along the quays to the Tuileries.

From the palace balcony their Majesties received the Paris and provincial deputations from the workmen's corporations, and the mutual benefit societies, who had joined in the wedding procession, and now marched past with music and banners, shouting 'Long life to the Emperor and Empress!' Then the august couple were allowed to retire to the duties of host and hostess within the palace. A small dinner-party, a concert, in which a *cantata de circonstance* was sung in Spanish costumes, and the presentation of the State dignitaries and their wives to the bride brought a long day of successive ceremonies to a close.

The first favour which the Empress Eugénie begged of her husband was the pardon of 4,312 individuals who had been exiled or transported in December 1851.[2] The fervour and frequency with which the Empress pleaded for mercy in behalf of workmen who had brought their families into distress through their political offences left her at a loss sometimes for reasons why her protégés should be spared. On one occasion she had taken the

[1] See Appendix for the official programme of the ceremonial.

[2] The decree was dated February 4.

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part of an artisan who had been found guilty of conspiring with others against the Government.

'Mon Dieu!' said the Empress in his defence, 'how can this man be guilty? How could he find time to be a conspirator, with a wife and six children to support?'

The logic made men smile, but it won the workman's pardon.

Fifteen years after marriage Napoleon wrote this estimate of the character of his wife:—

'The Countess of Teba has not disappeared under the lustre of the diadem of France. The character of the Empress still remains that of a lady of the simplest and most natural tastes. After her visit to the cholera patients at Amiens nothing seemed to surprise her more than the murmur of applause which everywhere celebrated her courageous initiative; she was, indeed, distressed by its excess.

'The lot of all classes of the unfortunate constantly awakens her especial solicitude. It is known with what efficacious activity she has intervened in the reorganisation of the prisons for youthful offenders, in reformatory labour, and in the administration of charitable societies. She founded the Société des Prêts de l'Enfance au Travail. How many generous reforms she still pursues with a marvellous perseverance! A little of the young *Phalanstérienne* is still to be found in her. The condition of women singularly preoccupies her. Her efforts are given to the elevation of her sex. It was she who, on a fitting occasion, decorated Rosa Bonheur.

'In two instances during the war of Italy—and during the voyage of the Emperor to Algeria—she has exercised the Regency. We know with what moderation, what political tact and sentiment of justice.

'Relieved of the occupations of state, the Empress devotes herself to serious studies (*se livre aux lectures les*

plus sérieuses). We may say that there is no economical or financial question of which she is ignorant. It is charming to hear her discuss these difficult problems with men of authority. Literature, history, and art are also frequently the subjects of her conversations. At Compiègne nothing is more attractive than a tea party of the Empress (*ce que l'on appelle un thé de l'Impératrice*).

Surrounded by a select circle, she engages with equal facility in the most elevated moot questions, or the most familiar topics of the day. The freshness of her powers of perception, the strength, the boldness even, of her opinions, at once impress and captivate. Her mode of expressing herself, occasionally incorrect, is full of picturesqueness and life (*Son langage, quelquefois incorrect, est plein de couleur et de mouvement*). With astonishing power of exact expression in conversation on common affairs, she rises in remarks on matters of state or morality to a pitch of real eloquence.

'Pious without being bigoted, well informed without being pedantic, she talks on all subjects with great unconstraint (*abandon*). She, perhaps, is too fond of discussion (*Peut-être aime-t-elle trop la discussion*). Very sprightly in her nature, she often lets herself be carried away by her feelings, which have more than once excited enmities; but her exaggerations have always for their foundation the love of good.

'In addition to the intelligent woman, and the prudent and courageous sovereign, it remains for us to show the mother, full of solicitude and tenderness for her son.

'It has been her wish that the Prince Imperial should receive a manly education. She causes statements of his occupations to be rendered to her; she follows the progress of his studies; she, so to say, assists day by day in the development of that young intelligence, in the growth of

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that mental power which in the inheritor of so high a fortune is a pledge of the most brilliant future career (*à cette croissance de l'esprit qui chez l'héritier d'une si haute fortune est le gage du plus brillant avenir*).'[1]

[1] The MS. of this article, which appeared in the *Dix Décembre*, was found, in the Emperor's autograph, in the Tuileries after the fall of the Empire.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE EMPIRE.

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WHEN the marriage rejoicings were fairly over, and the Senate and the Legislative Body had given their fête to the Imperial couple, the Emperor set resolutely to the labours of government. He was by nature a worker as well as a thinker. He never wearied of giving finishing touches and final revisions to the State papers which he put forth. Madame Cornu used to say that he delighted in the correction of proofs. This proceeded from his anxiety to think every subject thoroughly out, and be sure that he had approached and judged it from every point. He had watched the progress and effects of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and had seen that it had given a wholesome stimulus to the peaceful relations of civilised communities. After calculating well the probable effects of a similar exhibition in Paris, he issued a decree on March 8 summoning the agricultural, industrial, and art world to an Universal Exhibition, to be opened in the Champs Élysées on May 1, 1855. This was a fresh pledge of the peaceful intentions of the Imperial Government, and was a striking answer, by anticipation, to the deputations from London which waited upon the Emperor a few days later—one bearing an address signed by 4,000 London citizens, in which a hope was expressed that the alliance between England and France might be maintained, and the peace of the world thereby secured; and the other asking the Imperial patronage for a society just formed

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to carry out his old plan for the junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans *viâ* Nicaragua.[1] The Emperor answered the London merchants:[2] 'I am touched by this manifestation. It fortifies me in the faith with which the good sense of the English nation has always inspired me. During my long stay in England I admired the liberty she enjoyed through the perfection of her institutions. There was a moment, however, last year, when I feared that public opinion in regard to the real condition of France and her sentiments towards Great Britain had been led astray; but the good faith of a great people cannot be long deceived, and the step you have taken towards me is a striking proof of it. Since I have been in power, my efforts have been constantly directed to the development of the prosperity of France. I understand her interests: they do not differ from those of all civilised nations. Like you, I wish for peace, and, in order to secure it, I also desire to draw closer the bonds between the two countries.'

A further pledge of the cordial good feeling which was springing up between the English and French Governments throughout 1853—while the aspect of affairs was darkening in the East—was the transfer of the will of Napoleon I. from Doctors' Commons to the French judicial authorities. This was a return courtesy for the homage which the Emperor had paid to the memory of the Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the great captain's funeral in the previous November.

Count Walewski, French ambassador in London, applied to the Prince President to know whether he should attend the State obsequies. The Prince replied: 'Certainly: that he wished to forget the past; that he had

[1] Sir Charles Fox was at the head of this deputation.

[2] March 28, 1853.

always reason to be grateful for the friendly terms in which the late Duke had spoken of him; and that he desired to continue on the best terms with England.'[1]

While these amenities were fostering an *entente cordiale* between the English and French nations, French industry, gaining confidence with each fresh pledge of peace, prospered apace. The decree which declared the prolongation of the Rue de Rivoli to be a useful public improvement, set on foot in earnest that mighty series of works in the capital which was destined to be an immortal monument to the memory of the sovereign, beyond the reach even of such paltry and immoral enemies as the ediles who have had sway in Paris since 1870. With the return of public confidence, and the resumption of work in every part of the Empire, speculation became rife; and the Bourse was thronged with men impatient to use the golden opportunity. A prodigious number of enterprises were floated. Men grew suddenly opulent. A new society sprang up. The *nouveaux riches* thronged the Bois, pressed around the new throne, and mingled with the notabilities of the State. It was a time of hope, a time of enjoyment. The country had awakened to peace and prosperity under the strong hand of a prince who was essentially of his time, and beyond compare the most capable reigning sovereign the world had seen for many days. In the excitement strange, fantastic

[1] Speaking of the Duke of Wellington's funeral, Lord Derby exclaimed in the House of Lords: 'Honour to the friendly visitors—especially to France, the great and friendly nation, that testified by their representative their respect and veneration for his memory! They regarded him as a foe worthy of their steel.' Mr. Theodore Martin remarks that "every first-class State in Europe except one sent its representative to the funeral. *That one was not France.* On the contrary, its ruler, who might, perhaps, have been expected to hang back from joining in the last honours to "the great world-victor's victor," was among the first to announce his intention to send a representative.'—*Life of the Prince Consort*, by Theodore Martin, vol. ii.

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bubbles were blown, and they burst later with warning sounds. But these extravagances of prosperity were not peculiar to the Second Empire; albeit the foes of the Bonapartes have laboured to present them to the contemplation of mankind as the peculiar product of a Napoleonic dynasty. We have seen similar extravagances followed by a general collapse in our own and other countries.

In 1853, however, the Second Empire was in the bright and golden heyday of its youth, and the fascinating influence of the first lady in the land was beginning to be felt in the moulding of a brilliant polite society about the throne. This influence was first made apparent to the outer world by old scandals, anecdotes, and mots, re-turned and re-dyed, which began to float about the capital to the disadvantage of the Court. Even in 1853 were laid the false foundations of the cowardly lampoons of Rochefort of 1869–70. Two months after the foundation of the Empire the 'Moniteur' editor was busy answering the voice of calumny. While a commission was regulating the order of precedence at Court; while chamberlains were pondering the propriety of knee-breeches; while the Court was striving to put some curb upon the crowds of wearers of foreign orders and the nobility of doubtful title, the wicked tongues of Paris—a formidable artillery—wagged apace, and managed, by sheer repetition and perseverance in malevolence, to fasten a series of scandals and ridiculous stories in the public mind. The bitter bread thus cast upon the waters was to be found after many days.

The session of the Senate and Legislative Body was opened at the beginning of March, the Empress making her first appearance at a State ceremonial after her marriage, having the Princess Mathilde on her right and the Countess de Montijo on her left; the Emperor

standing before the throne, supported on the right by King Jerome, and on the left by Prince Napoleon.

'A year ago,' the Emperor said to his faithful Senators and Deputies, 'I called you together to inaugurate the Constitution proclaimed by virtue of the powers which the people had conferred upon me. Since that time order has remained unbroken; the law, resuming its empire, has made it possible to restore to their homes most of the men whom it had been necessary to treat with rigour. The public wealth has grown to such an extent that the part of it which it is possible to estimate daily has alone increased about two milliards.[1]

'Work has become plentiful in all departments of industry. The same progress is being realised in Africa, where our army has just distinguished itself by heroic victories. The form of government has been legally modified, and without trouble, by the free suffrages of the people. Extensive works have been put in operation without the imposition of a new tax, and without having recourse to a loan. Peace has been maintained with dignity. All the Powers have recognised the new Government. France now enjoys institutions which can stand alone, and the stability of which does not depend on a man's life.

'These results have not cost a great effort, because they were in the mind and interest of everybody. To those who would deny their importance I would answer that hardly fourteen months ago the country was left to the chances of anarchy. To those who might regret that more liberty was not to be found in them I would answer: Liberty has never helped to make a durable political edifice. Liberty crowns it when time has consolidated it.

[1] Eighty millions sterling.

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'Nor should we forget that even when the immense majority of the country has confidence in the present and faith in the future, there remain always incorrigible individuals, who, forgetful of their own experience, of their past fears, of their disappointments, obstinately refuse to recognise the public will; who shamelessly deny the reality of facts, and, in the midst of a sea which grows calmer every day, call upon the tempest which would engulph them first.

'These occult activities of the various parties only serve at every opportunity to reveal their impotence; and the Government, undisturbed by them, is anxious before all things to give France a good administration, and to afford confidence to Europe. In pursuit of this double object, it is firmly resolved to reduce expenditure and armaments; to devote all the resources of the country to useful ends; to maintain strict loyalty in international relations, in order to prove to the most incredulous that when France expresses her formal intention to maintain peace she must be believed, for she is strong enough not to fear, and consequently not to deceive, anybody.

'You will see, gentlemen, by the Budget that will be submitted to you, that our financial position has never been better during the last twenty years, and that the public revenue has increased beyond all expectation.

'Nevertheless the army, already reduced by 30,000 men, is about to be further lessened by 20,000.

'Most of the measures which will be submitted to you will be of the ordinary kind; and this is the most favourable indication of our position. Nations are fortunate when their governments see no occasion to have recourse to extraordinary legislation.

'Let us, then, thank Providence for the visible protection it has extended over our efforts; let us persevere in that line of firmness and moderation which reassures men

at once, which tends to the public good without violence, and thus prevents all reaction. Let us always put our trust in God and in ourselves, as in the mutual support we owe to one another; and let us be proud to see that in so short a time this great country has found peace, and has become prosperous at home and honoured abroad.'

The promise that liberty would crown the edifice of the Constitution when time had consolidated it was treasured up by hostile spirits, to be used later—not to force the completion of the Imperial idea, but as a rallying-point for the men who were bent on reopening 'the epoch of revolutions' in their unfortunate country.

During the second Parliamentary session of the Empire an important series of domestic measures was passed. The conciliation courts of *prud'hommes* were reformed in an equitable spirit between employers and employed. The deferred annuities granted from the Caisse de Retraite under the law of 1850 were modified. The session proved that the independence of the Legislative Body had not been destroyed, for the Deputies opposed the Government propositions on the pensions of civil servants; and the commission of the Budget, of which M. Schneider was president, uttered warnings, to which, in the first flush of prosperity, too little heed was given.[1] The Government measure for punishing as a parricide the culprit guilty of an attempt upon the life of the Emperor, and with death attempts upon the life of any member of the Imperial family, was modified by the Legislative Body. For the latter crime transportation was substituted. At the close of the session President Billault reported to the Emperor that the session of three months

[1] 'Is it not to be feared,' said M. Schneider's report, 'that the sudden rise in all securities, the abundance of capital, the facilities of credit, and the example of sudden fortunes may unduly excite men's imaginations, and lead to deplorable temptations and excesses?'

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had done more good work than former sessions of six months; and that the Deputies, in separating, felt the patriotic satisfaction of having, in concert with the Emperor's Government, worked efficaciously for the good of the country. In a remarkable article on the labours of the Senate and the Legislative Body, the 'Moniteur' noted that the latter body had presented no less than 103 amendments to the measures sent down to them from the Council of State, and that of these the Council had accepted 74. Among the amendments of the Deputies were reductions of the Budget to the extent of three millions of francs—a proof that the elective body had still an effectual control over the public money.[1]

Outside Parliament the Emperor laboured to put the vessel of the State in thorough order. He abolished the Ministry of Police, which he had created after the *coup d'état*, and created a Direction of Public Safety, under the authority of the Minister of the Interior. The Director had extensive powers, especially over the press and the publishers of popular literature. That these powers were often shamefully used by such doubtful servants of the Empire as M. Collet-Meygret, and that they were exceptionally and irrationally severe, cannot now be doubted. At the same time we are bound to take into account the condition not only of the press after the revolution of February, but of the popular literature which some four thousand book-hawkers were perpetually spreading over the villages and country towns of France. The number of publications distributed by this agency was estimated at ten millions of volumes annually, and nearly all of this literature was immoral or revo-

[1] One hundred and sixty-two public and private Bills were passed, including measures for regulating departmental and commercial debts, the purchase of canals, and for several important railway lines.

lutionary. In 1849 a law had been passed compelling book-hawkers to take out a license; but their packs of poison had been left untouched. In 1853 a commission was appointed to examine all books destined to be sold by the hawkers, and none could be hawked that had not received the sanction of this body. The necessity for severe control was demonstrated by M. Nisard in his 'History of the Popular Literature of France.' If the commission now and then showed severity towards works on purely political or party grounds, it cannot be denied that they did the public good service in clearing the villages of a literature of the most debasing description.

During the year 1853 two conspiracies [1] to assassinate the Emperor were discovered, and the revelations brought to light by the police indicated the continued life and activity of the secret societies; but public confidence was not disturbed. The tide of prosperity remained strong and steady; a new life had been breathed into the body social; and all classes felt that the Emperor was too powerful for his enemies. The commercial and building activity in Paris was prodigious. Three great highways—the Rue de Rivoli, the Boulevard de Strasbourg, and the Rue des Écoles—were in progress, the works at the Louvre were being pushed vigorously, and the new central markets were rising rapidly. Outside Paris—on the plain of Satory—the Emperor had established a camp, where military manœuvres, which he personally directed, were perpetually in progress. The friend of peace, he was alive to the conditions on which alone peace could be secured; and, while he had reduced the numbers of his army, he had never ceased to study the means of adding to its efficiency. It was his firm resolve that France

[1] One that was to be carried out at the Hippodrome, and one the scene of which was to have been the Opéra Comique.

BOOK IX.

should be strong by land and sea. While he watched over the army he did not neglect the navy. His efforts to develope the maritime energies and increase the tonnage of France, to protect and extend colonial enterprise and to improve his foreign commerce, have been fairly set forth by Mr. Lindsay.[1] In truth, France owes her present formidable navy to Napoleon III. and to his naval adviser, M. Dupuy de Lôme. A new epoch in the history of the navy, indeed, dates from the accession of the Emperor.

But the year 1853, which opened with marriage feasts and prospects of piping times of peace, was destined to close gloomily. On September 21 the Prince Consort, in the course of a letter to Baron Stockmar, touched in the following vigorous words on the political situation:[2]—'Meyendorff is the Vienna Cabinet. Louis Napoleon wishes for peace, enjoyment, and cheap corn. The King of Prussia is a reed shaken by the wind. We are paralysed through not knowing what our agent in Constantinople is or is not doing. The Divan has become fanatically warlike and headstrong, and reminds one of Prussia in 1806. The public here is furiously Turkish and anti-Russian. All this makes Aberdeen's bed not one of roses.'

The Eastern Question had been spreading darkly along the horizon for many months, and under its influence England and France had been drawing closer together—the Court and British statesmen having been fairly forced to acknowledge the sincerity of the Emperor's desire for peace and for an alliance with England. In October the Prince Consort wrote to Baron Stockmar that the relations between England and France had 'settled into an

[1] *History of Merchant Shipping and Ancient Commerce.* By W. S. Lindsay. Sampson Low and Co.

[2] *Life of the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin.

entente cordiale.' In the following month the Prince observed to his old correspondent: 'Louis Napoleon shows by far the greatest statesmanship, which is easier for the individual than for the many: he is moderate, but firm; gives way to us even when his plan is better than ours, and revels in the enjoyment of the advantages he derives from the alliance with us.'[1] By January 7, 1854, the Prince Consort playfully admitted that Palmerston and Louis Napoleon were the idols of the public, 'the favourites for the Derby!' Simultaneously with the aggravation of the Eastern difficulty in the autumn of 1853 the general failure of the harvest happened.[2] The prospect of war appeared in conjunction with that of dear bread—a conjunction of misfortunes calculated to try the foundations of any government.

The Emperor met the dear bread question boldly. Formerly the municipal council of Paris had issued bread tickets to the poor in times of scarcity, on presentation of which they received loaves at a reduced price from the bakers. This was municipal charity on a large scale. The Imperial Government met the difficulty by fixing the price of bread at forty centimes, and empowering the bakers to claim from the municipality the difference between this price and the real price, based on the quotations of the various corn-markets of France. When the real price fell below forty centimes, the municipal council was empowered to keep the selling price above the real price, and so to

[1] 'Louis Napoleon appears to have been straightforward (*ehrlich*) throughout the whole transaction, even where his Ministry suffered themselves to be misled by vanity and Doctrinaire nonsense into kicking a little over the traces. The Emperor Nicholas has now quite gratuitously made for him the position which originally he wished to withhold from him with the "Mon Frère," and has forced us into an alliance with him.' —*Letter of the Prince Consort to Baron Stockmar*, August 10, 1853.

[2] The deficiency to be made up amounted to 10,000,000 hectolitres of corn.

recover the advances made. A baker's fund was established with the guarantee of the city, and, under the authority of the Prefect of the Seine, to regulate matters between the trade and the municipality. By this agency bread was to remain at a fixed moderate price, or nearly so. In addition the Government abolished the sliding scale of duties on the importation of cereals, as prejudicial to speculation in corn—importers being always in fear of a sudden increase of duties.

This abolition of the sliding scale created dismay among the protectionists, while it was accepted by the more enlightened portion of the community as an indication of the liberal direction which the Imperial Government would take in commercial legislation. It was the first sign of the Emperor's Free Trade proclivities.

The reduction of the tax on corn was quickly followed by a similar reduction on the importation of cattle. Then the immense railway interest to which the Emperor had given activity clamoured for cheap iron and coal. The sudden development of railways had sent up the price of iron and coal until it threatened to put a stop to the lines in progress. For the general interest the Government opened the frontiers to foreign rails and foreign coal at a reduced tariff. The clamour raised was loud, and even threatening; the French ironmasters vowed that they were ruined; Orleanist statesmen, who had been trained to believe in high custom-house walls as the only securities for national industry, predicted disaster; but the thin edge of Free Trade had been applied, and the wedge was destined to be driven home by the master hand that was at the helm of the State.

APPENDICES.

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I.

Louis Napoleon before France. 1848. *By M. de la Guéronnière.*

APP. I.

"STRASBOURG et Boulogne! Deux noms qui font trembler la main et frémir la conscience; deux faits qui ne peuvent être pesés avec équité et jugés avec autorité que par l'infaillible histoire! Est-ce grandeur ou folie? Est-ce héroïsme ou caprice? Est-ce prévoyance ou démence? Est-ce vertu ou crime? Est-ce abnégation ou ambition? La morale éternelle, l'opinion, la société, la loi répondent d'une manière; le sort, la fortune, la réalité, répondent autrement. Voilà un homme qui, par deux fois, a conspiré contre un gouvernement établi, et déployé, à quatre ans de distance, le drapeau de la guerre civile sur une frontière et sur un rivage de sa patrie. Cet homme veut être empereur. Il entre sur le continent où il débarque sur la côte en prétendant; il provoque des trahisons et des défections; il engage une lutte impossible et succombe presque aussitôt dans l'impuissance de sa propre cause; il est insulté, jugé, condamné, presque oublié en Amérique et dans le donjon de Ham. On voit en lui pendant quinze ans plutôt un maniaque qu'un héros. Et cependant c'est cet homme qui, quelques années plus tard, devient d'abord le favori de la popularité pour devenir, bientôt après, l'élu du peuple! À peine son nom est-il jeté sur la place publique, qu'il est murmuré sur toutes les lèvres comme un souvenir et une espérance. Le murmure court dans la rue; il franchit la barrière; il s'étend aux campagnes; il retentit jusque dans les plus humbles villages du territoire; il monte comme la vague de l'océan, jusqu'à ce qu'il se transforme en un grand mouvement d'opinion et qu'il se traduise par dix millions de suffrages jetés dans l'urne, sans motif, sans raison, et comme par un élan irrésistible et spontané de la nation.

'Oui, cela est étrange, et cependant cela est vrai. Strasbourg

APP. I.

et Boulogne—deux folies, deux fautes (nous pourrions dire, avec la loi et avec la conscience, deux crimes)—ont fait l'élection du 10. décembre. Si Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte ne s'était pas posé en prétendant à l'Empire, il n'eût pas été président de la République française. En doute-t-on? Voici un fait qui va détruire les incertitudes.

'Les Bonaparte n'avaient pas attendu le signe de l'ancien prisonnier de Ham pour apparaître en France sur la scène toute nouvelle de la République. Dès le lendemain de la révolution on avait vu accourir, pour prendre leur part de la victoire, deux jeunes hommes de cette famille, l'un fils de Lucien, républicain comme son père, alliant l'intrépidité corse à un patriotisme presque romain; l'autre, fils de Jérôme, actif, jeune, intelligent, habile, rappelant son oncle par les traits de sa figure, effigie vivante de cette physionomie historique gravée dans plus de souvenirs que de médailles. Qui donc reconnaissait ces représentants et ces héritiers de l'époque héroïque au milieu des crises, des orages, des agitations et des convulsions de l'époque révolutionnaire? Quel souvenir remontait à eux? Quelles espérances se rattachaient à leur nom? Quelle perspective éclairait leur front? Ils passaient ignorés et inaperçus devant le peuple, à qui n'échappait rien et qui voyait tout. Ils montaient leur garde comme de simples et patriotiques volontaires à la porte du gouvernement provisoire. Ils étaient élus par la Corse et venaient s'asseoir sur leur banquet de représentant sans eveiller une émotion ou un pressentiment. Ils n'avaient fait ni Strasbourg ni Boulogne.

'Que la raison s'humilie devant un pareil résultat! Oui, que la raison s'humilie, mais que la conscience n'abdique pas! Le sort, la fortune, le caprice de la popularité, le hasard des événements, n'y peuvent rien. Ce que le temps oublie ou absout ne change pas de caractère pour cela! La révolte ou le pouvoir pourront en être le prix; le blâme de l'histoire en sera nécessairement l'expiation.

'La conscience de l'histoire a été devancée d'ailleurs par la conscience du coupable. Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, loin de se glorifier de sa faute, l'a avouée lui-même et s'est accusé solennellement devant son pays et devant Dieu. Cet aveu était sincère: il n'efface pas la faute pour la postérité qui la jugera;

il la voile pour les contemporains. D'ailleurs il venge la morale et la société. Cela suffit.

'Maintenant, que venait faire Bonaparte à Strasbourg et à Boulogne? Venait-il renverser simplement un gouvernement pour prendre sa place? Venait-il, comme Charles-Édouard, à la tête de ses partisans, jouer comme lui son droit et son sceptre dans le hasard d'une bataille? Venait-il, enfin, vider une prétention de parti dans un duel suprême au bord du Rhin et sur la plage d'un océan? Non. Bonaparte n'était pas un conspirateur ordinaire. Si l'on veut même que je dise toute ma pensée, je n'hésiterai pas à ajouter que son caractère, ses mœurs, ses idées, son éducation, sa nature, devaient le faire répugner profondément à tout projet de conspiration. Ce qui le prouve, c'est la témérité même et l'impossibilité absolue de réussite qui apparaissent au plus simple examen des combinaisons sur lesquelles reposaient les deux expéditions de Strasbourg et de Boulogne. En effet, le héros de ces entreprises ne s'inquiète pas de savoir s'il a des partisans en France. Il ne prépare rien; il n'organise rien. Ses plans ne correspondent à aucune stratégie. Ses efforts ne se renouent à aucune affiliation. Il n'est sûr que de quelques officiers secondaires qui lui livrent leur épée et leur serment. Ce n'est pas à Paris, au centre du territoire, qu'il porte son action pour la faire rayonner de là sur toute la France. Non! il apparaît tout à coup, comme son oncle, sur un coin du territoire, et il croit que la marche va s'ouvrir pour lui triomphale, victorieuse et populaire. Quelques proclamations et une constitution, voilà ses munitions de guerre. Son nom, voilà son prestige. Une douzaine d'amis résignés à partager son sort, voilà son armée.

'On a dit, je le sais, que l'entreprise de Strasbourg, en particulier, se reliait à une organisation formidable qui englobait toutes les villes frontières de l'est, leurs populations et leurs garnisons. On a dit encore que quelques généraux n'attendaient qu'un succès sérieux pour se prononcer et pour engager leur fortune dans une cause où ils retrouvaient les souvenirs et les enthousiasmes de leur jeunesse. La procédure si complète et si minutieuse qui a été faite par la magistrature et par la Cour des Pairs, les débats qui ont porté la lumière dans tous les détails et dans tous les replis de la conspiration, n'ont pu

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révéler un seul indice de ces complicités supposées. J'ai tout vu et tout lu. Le temps, qui a changé le cours des circonstances, et qui a fait un titre de faveur de ce qui eût été une cause de dégradation, n'a montré aucune de ces trahisons secrètes qui se cachent dans la défaite et qui se redressent impudemment le lendemain du triomphe pour réclamer ou pour recevoir une récompense.

'Un vieux soldat de l'Empire, dont le cœur pouvait se laisser séduire, mais dont la conscience ne pouvait se laisser fléchir, le général Exelmans, avait reçu des ouvertures directes du prince. Il les repoussa avec l'inflexibilité et avec la douleur de la prévision certaine d'un grand échec pour un nom qu'il aimait. Bonaparte, devenu président de la République française, ne s'est pas souvenu de ce refus. Ou pour mieux dire: si, il s'en est souvenu, et il a donné le bâton de maréchal à celui qui, sacrifiant la religion de ses sentiments à la religion de ses serments, refusa noblement de lui livrer son honneur et son épée.

'Ainsi, Bonaparte n'a pas conspiré, car toute conspiration suppose une action et une organisation, et il n'y en avait pas de sérieuses ni à Strasbourg, ni à Boulogne. Ce n'est pas la défection de quelques officiers et le dévouement de quelques amis qui pouvaient lui assurer les moyens matériels assez puissants pour s'imposer. Au fond, il ne comptait que sur sa force morale. C'est une révolution d'opinion qu'il venait provoquer en se montrant inopinément sur la frontière avec un drapeau et un aigle.

. . . . . .

'Obéir au destin, suivre son étoile, sonder la France avec l'épée de Napoléon pour y trouver le bonapartisme et l'Empire, appeler le peuple à manifester des vœux pour un régime qu'il croyait celui de ses préférences et de ses enthousiasmes, voilà très-sincèrement et très-impartialement ce que croyait et ce que voulait faire Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte en entrant à main armée à Strasbourg le 30 Octobre 1836, comme en débarquant à Boulogne le 6 août 1840.

. . . . . .

'Mis au secret, conduit à Paris, déporté en Amérique, il reste impassible et inflexible dans sa superstition. Son étoile le ramène à Boulogne. Là, même imprévoyance, ou, pour mieux dire,

absence complète de moyens d'action. Quelques amis dévoués, comme à Strasbourg, à peu près les mêmes, et quelques-uns de plus, ardents, exaltés et courageux comme les autres, tels que M. Bataille, M. Conneau, M. Aladenise, M. Ornano, M. Forestier, M. Voisin, M. Mésonan, M. de Laborde, M. de Montauban, M. Bacciochi, M. Lombard, ayant à leur tête M. le général de Montholon—forment toute son escorte. Le succès est impossible. L'entreprise est insensée. Qu'importe! Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte descend d'une barque à la pointe du jour. M. Bataille et M. Aladenise le reçoivent. On se prépare; on se met en marche; on échoue; on se disperse; on se jette à la nage. L'Empire tombe à la mer. On le ramène au rivage, non pour le sacrer, mais pour le dégrader. Le prétendant n'est plus qu'un prisonnier. Le prisonnier devient un accusé et un condamné. La porte de Ham se referme sur lui, et cependant il ne doute pas, et, à peine entré dans ce sombre donjon, la première pensée qui lui échappe n'est ni un regret, ni un remords, ni une plainte. "Ici je suis à ma place!" s'écrie-t-il. Voilà l'homme et voilà le drame!

. . . . . .

'Parmi ses juges figuraient, pour la plupart, les favoris de la fortune de son oncle, ceux dont il avait élevé la vie et illustré le nom, ceux qui auraient acclamé peut-être sa victoire et qui devaient humilier et dégrader sa défaite, spectacle plein d'enseignements et d'émotions! L'admirable éloquence de M. Berryer s'éleva vainement à toute la hauteur et à tout le pathétique d'une pareille cause. À cette époque on jugeait madame Lafarge à Tulle. Madame Lafarge absorba la passion publique, et le drame de Boulogne se dénoua dans une indifférence presque complète.'

II.

Interview between Bonaparte and Lamartine.

APP. II.

'THE day after Bonaparte, elected President of the Republic, took possession of the Élysée, I withdrew to the Bois de Boulogne, where I had hired a house to live in peace and work.

'I was not acquainted with the prince made President, but it was my firm resolve to rally to his Government, henceforth legal, not from taste, but from patriotism, against all the factions and opposition of malcontents which might endeavour to hamper its movements. Such was, indeed, the duty of every good citizen who placed the will of the nation above his own ambition.

'At first the Prince vainly endeavoured to make up a Ministry, and applied to the leaders of all shades of opinion who were capable of enlightening and defending him. They nearly all refused his offers. He lost patience, and being unable to win over these neutral men, he thought of making overtures to those who were compromised in the foundation of the Republic, but who had held principles of order consonant with the tastes of the mass of the nation.

'M. Duclerc, to whom he had addressed himself, proposed to him to make a desperate and direct appeal to me, hoping that I should be flattered by it, and should not refuse to accept the Premiership from the Prince at such a crisis.

'Without warning me, the Prince flung himself upon his horse at nightfall, and galloped towards my house, called St. James, in the Bois de Boulogne, accompanied by M. Duclerc; but not wishing to compromise either himself or me, sent M. Duclerc to me to announce that he was waiting in a dark pine alley in the neighbourhood, whither he begged me to repair for a secret interview.

'I had just sat down to dinner when Duclerc arrived and sent for me: he told me in two words that the Prince was there. I immediately ordered my horse to be saddled, and rode off with him (Duclerc) to meet the Prince, as if by chance, and have a

conversation with him. It was night, and there was no longer another horseman but ourselves in the wood.

'I entered the pine alley where the Prince awaited me. As soon as he perceived me he rode towards me. Duclerc presented me and withdrew, so that we might talk freely.

'The Prince plunged *in medias res*, like a business man who desires a solution, after a few compliments on the manner in which I had conducted affairs—now energetically, now skilfully, under the most difficult circumstances that were ever conceived—and had weathered the interregnum, keeping France, with the help of my colleagues, from both anarchy and war. "That is why I come to you," said he. "I have a Ministry to form, and I have given my attention exclusively to that question for the last few days. I have applied to all patriotic and able men whose names suggested themselves to me: I have been everywhere unfortunate; and, if I must tell you the truth, I have not found in them that resolution and patriotic fearlessness for which I had hoped. I know but one man who has shown himself to be possessed of these qualities, and from whom I hope for a favourable answer to my appeal: that man is you, and that is why you see me here."

'I thanked the Prince cordially. I told him it was true that I should not hesitate to devote myself a second time with him to the well-being of the country henceforth placed in his hands, and if I could think myself still useful; but that I begged him to allow me to give the reasons which made me think that not only was I the most useless, but also the most dangerous, Minister for the new Government about

'"Rightly," I continued, "or wrongly, I am the most compromised and unpopular of Frenchmen; I do not say whether I am so deservedly or not, but such is the case, and I must recognise it, and not dispute a fact. I joined the revolution at the moment when it had driven the King from the Tuileries, and I resolutely headed it. All the Orleanists, without considering whether it were in my power to establish a regency of a woman and children alone, and without Ministers, in the face of a triumphant revolution, and whether such a regency would be anything more than an anarchy of a few days' duration—the Orleanists, I say, attributed to me that revolution, which I no

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more originated than yourself; hence the implacable hatred of the Orleanist party, of which I shall never rid myself. I was forced to proclaim a provisional Republic to satisfy the Republican party, and with that word I calmed everything; but I raised unanimous fears of another 1793 by the very means through which I made its return impossible. I have, therefore, against me the Monarchists and the timid. And these form the majority of a nation accustomed to a monarchy, and which will live for some centuries yet in dread of demagogues. I attacked them vigorously and immediately, by refuting Socialism, by suppressing the political scaffold, and by thrusting away the Red flag at the risk of my life. All the demagogues, Socialists, and terrorists of the Republican party must, therefore, abhor me. Lastly, I opposed your own Bonapartist party by energetically and prudently steering clear of war while I was Foreign Minister. The Bonapartist and military party hates me. These four enmities, well-founded or not, render me unacceptable to all parties in France, and you would make your infant Government unpopular by even breathing my name in connexion with it. For these reasons I refuse the honour which you would do to me—an unhoped for honour, which would be but a vanity for me and an evident danger for you. I therefore beg you not to persist in your offer; I should ruin myself without serving you."

'I saw by his countenance that he was really grieved.

'"With regard to popularity," he said to me, with a smile, "you need not trouble yourself upon that score: *I have enough for both.*"

'"I know," I replied; "but having, as I think, given you the most unanswerable reasons for my refusal, I give you my word of honour that, if by to-morrow you have not been able to win over and rally to you the men whom I will name, I will accept the Ministry blindfold, in default of others; and that we will stand or fall together. Rely upon what I say implicitly, and send to-morrow, or this night, either my friend Duclerc or one of your aides-de-camp with your orders. I will be with you at any hour you may name."

'The Prince, still riding by my side in the darkness, insisted for a long time, like a desperate man who is making a last

effort. But my reason rendered me as obstinate in my refusal as he was pressing, from the urgency of his case, in his offers.

'"Well," he said at length, "I accept your promise. But whom do you advise me to seek?"

'I mentioned to him M. Odilon Barrot, known for his liberal and honourable sentiments, and M. de Tocqueville, a man of honour and uprightness.

'"Have you been to them?" I said.

'"No," he replied.

'"Well, then," I continued, "I scarcely think they will refuse; and if they do, I repeat that I am at your service."

'He shook my hand warmly and we separated. Very early the next day he let me know that he had been successful, and that he released me from my promise.'—LAMARTINE, *Political Memoirs.*

III.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT.

Report by the Prefect of Police upon the Events of December 3 and 4, 1851.

'Paris, Imprimerie Lahure, 1853.

'. . . Ought I to answer an infamous calumny which persons have not feared to spread about, assuredly not believing in it? There has been some talk about nocturnal fusillades in the Champ de Mars and in the suburbs of Paris. This is nothing but a hateful lie. The insurgents have been treated with all possible moderation and humanity—treated as conquered men by generous conquerors.

'If the defenders of order have had to bear the cruelty and barbarity of their enemies at various points, there is not a single deed which our cause cannot proudly acknowledge.

'The army and the authorities, not carried away by victory and the consciousness of their strength, have despised all revenge.

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'If anyone wishes to see what have been the losses on both sides, we have statistics, the result of minute enquiries, which give officially the precise numbers of the killed and wounded:—

'*Killed*:	26	soldiers, of whom one was an officer.
	8	individuals belonging rather to the class of lookers-on than to that of insurgents.
	175	insurgents (116 killed on the spot; 59 dead from wounds in their own houses).
Total	209	
'*Wounded*:	184	soldiers.
	115	insurgents.
Total	299'	

IV.

Lamartine on the Insurrection of June 7.

In his 'Political Memoirs' Lamartine remarks:—

'The insurrectionary movements and the scandals of anarchy were on the increase in Paris. The Government resisted them only by persuasion and vigilance, both of the police and of the National Guard. The old coercive laws were abolished, and republican laws for the maintenance of order were not yet drawn. Lamartine was convinced that the public scandals, and those of the clubs and of journalism, would furnish the most deadly weapons which could be left in the hands of the Republic's enemies. France is a country of decency: scandals humble her, and what humbles her breeds disaffection. He thought that the Republic could only give itself a legitimate foundation by promptly re-establishing order, and inflexibly maintaining it. The imagination of the country was to be soothed before everything.

'Imbued with these ideas, he proposed to the Council either his resignation or the adoption of a series of temporary decrees, styled by him "republican laws of transition," which were destined to provide for the imperious demands of moral security,

of discipline, of armed force and order, pending the foundation of a new popular institution.

'"The physiognomy of the Republic, for a few days past, has troubled me," said he to his colleagues. "I will not allow my name to be responsible for a state of weakness and disarmament of society which might degenerate into anarchy. I ask for two things—laws for the maintenance of public security concerning public meetings, clubs, the hawking of anarchical newspapers; the power of banishing from Paris to their respective *communes* all agitators convicted of disturbing the public peace; and, in fine, a camp of twenty thousand men within the walls of Paris, to help the Army of Paris and the National Guard in the certain and imminent campaign which we shall have to wage against the National Workshops and against more guilty factions which may arise, and enlist this army of disaffected working men. At no other price will I remain in the Government."

'"'Nor we!" unanimously exclaimed all his colleagues.

'M. Marie, assiduous, indefatigable, and energetic, was charged with drawing up the projects for the decree.

'General Cavaignac was requested to combine the movements of his troops so that the auxiliary divisions of the Army of the Alps might, at the word of command, flow back to Paris.

'The General and Lamartine had frequent conversations upon the nature of the military measures to be taken to avert or overcome the increasing dangers of the Republic.

'Few days passed without Lamartine, at the rising of the Council, taking information as to the precise numbers and the movements of the troops which, in obedience to the orders of the Government, occupied the barracks and encampments around Paris; also as to the number of hours which would be required for the army to be equipped and assembled at the given points; and lastly as to the system of defence which the General proposed to adopt in the case of a fight in the streets of Paris.

'Lamartine, bearing in mind the downfall of preceding Governments which had met their ruin by disseminating their troops over Paris, and by fighting against the mob with mere detachments, was convinced that a fight in the streets of a capital containing 1,500,000 souls should be carried on in the

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same manner as a regular battle in open country, only on rougher ground. He thought that the army should have a basis of operations, a fixed centre, and wings; that each corps should be able to radiate from the base, and fall back on the centre, without being cut off from its reserves.

'During three months he had closely questioned, with a view to eliciting their opinion upon this point, all the generals who had had eventually to manœuvre a body of men in Paris—that is to say, Négrier, Bedeau, Oudinot, Cavaignac. He found that they unanimously agreed with him. Therefore he supported General Cavaignac in his adoption of this system in preference to the contrary one, which received the support of those who wished to treat an insurrection like a riot, and to attack it at all points, with the chance of not crushing it anywhere.

'"Be not deceived," said he to the latter: "we are not approaching a riot, but a battle; not a battle, but a campaign against powerful factions. If we wish to save the Republic, and with her society, we must have our hands on our swords during the first years of her foundation, and we must dispose of the troops not only here, but over the whole of the empire, as a provision against great civil wars which will embrace not only quarters of Paris, but provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."

'Moreover, he frequently questioned Charras, the Under-Secretary of the War Department, and the General of Division Foucher, upon the strength of the Paris army. Their answers seemed to him thoroughly reassuring. The voice of calumny has accused the Government of negligence during this period. These generals might, on the other hand, have blamed the excessive foresight of Lamartine. From the opening of the Assembly he had had but one thought: to dissolve, if it were possible, then to put down if it were necessary, the insurrection of the National Workshops. For the victory to be prompt, decisive, and crushing, consequently less bloody, it was necessary to crush the mass of insurgents by the mass of bayonets.'

V.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852.

Constitution faite en vertu des Pouvoirs délégués par le Peuple français à Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte par le Vote des 20 et 21 Décembre 1851.

APP. V.

LE PRÉSIDENT DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE, — Considérant que le peuple français a été appelé à se prononcer sur la résolution suivante :—

'Le peuple veut le maintien de l'autorité de Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, et lui donne les pouvoirs nécessaires pour faire une Constitution d'après les bases établies dans sa proclamation du 2 décembre ;'

Considérant que les bases proposées à l'acceptation du peuple étaient—

1° Un Chef responsable nommé pour dix ans ;

2° Des Ministres dépendant du Pouvoir Exécutif seul ;

3° Un Conseil d'État, formé des hommes les plus distingués, préparant les lois, et en soutenant la discussion devant le Corps Législatif ;

4° Un Corps Législatif discutant et votant les lois, nommé par le suffrage universel, sans scrutin de liste qui fausse l'élection ;

5° Une seconde Assemblée, formée de toutes les illustrations du pays, pouvoir pondérateur, gardien du pacte fondamental et des libertés publiques :

Considérant que le peuple a répondu affirmativement par sept millions cinq cent mille suffrages—

Promulgue la Constitution dont la teneur suit :—

TITRE PREMIER.

Art. 1er.—La Constitution reconnaît, confirme et garantit les grands principes proclamés en 1789, et qui sont la base du droit public des Français.

TITRE II.

Formes du Gouvernement de la République.

APP. V.

Art. 2.—Le Gouvernement de la République française est confié pour dix ans au Prince Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, Président actuel de la République.

Art. 3.—Le Président de la République gouverne au moyen des Ministres, du Conseil d'État, du Sénat et du Corps Législatif.

Art. 4.—La puissance législative s'exerce collectivement par le Président de la République, le Sénat et le Corps Législatif.

TITRE III.

Du Président de la République.

Art. 5.—Le Président de la République est responsable devant le peuple français, auquel il a toujours le droit de faire appel.

Art. 6.—Le Président de la République est le Chef de l'État. Il commande les forces de terre et de mer, déclare la guerre, fait les traités de paix, d'alliance et de commerce, nomme à tous les emplois, fait les règlements et décrets nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois.

Art. 7.—La justice se rend sous son nom.

Art. 8.—Il a seul l'initiative des lois.

Art. 9.—Il a le droit de faire grâce.

Art. 10.—Il sanctionne et promulgue les lois et les sénatus-consultes.

Art. 11.—Il présente tous les ans au Sénat et au Corps Législatif, par un message, l'état des affaires de la République.

Art. 12.—Il a le droit de déclarer l'état de siége dans un ou plusieurs départments, sauf à en référer au Sénat dans le plus bref délai. Les conséquences de l'état de siége sont réglées par la loi.

Art. 13.—Les Ministres ne dépendent que du Chef de l'État; ils ne sont responsables que chacun en ce qui le concerne des actes du Gouvernement: il n'y a point de solidarité entre eux; ils ne peuvent être mis en accusation que par le Sénat.

Art. 14.—Les Ministres, les membres du Sénat, du Corps

Législatif et du Conseil d'État, les officiers de terre et de mer, les magistrats et les fonctionnaires publics, prêtent le serment ainsi conçu :—*Je jure obéissance à la Constitution et fidélité au Président.*

Art. 15.—Un sénatus-consulte fixe la somme allouée annuellement au Président de la République pour toute la durée de ses fonctions.

Art. 16.—Si le Président de la République meurt avant l'expiration de son mandat, le Sénat convoque la nation pour procéder à une nouvelle élection.

Art. 17.—Le Chef de l'État a le droit, par un acte secret, et déposé aux archives du Sénat, de désigner au peuple le nom du citoyen qu'il recommande, dans l'intérêt de la France, à la confiance du peuple et à ses suffrages.

Art. 18.—Jusqu'à l'élection du nouveau Président de la République, le président du Sénat gouverne avec le concours des Ministres en fonctions, qui se forment en Conseil de Gouvernement, et délibèrent à la majorité des voix.

TITRE IV.

Du Sénat.

Art. 19.—Le nombre des Sénateurs ne pourra excéder cent cinquante : il est fixé pour la première année à quatre-vingts.

Art. 20.—Le Sénat se compose—1° des cardinaux, des maréchaux, des amiraux ; 2° des citoyens que le Président de la République juge convenable d'élever à la dignité de Sénateur.

Art. 21.—Les Sénateurs sont inamovibles et à vie.

Art. 22.—Les fonctions de Sénateur sont gratuites : néanmoins le Président de la République pourra accorder à des Sénateurs, en raison de services rendus et de leur position de fortune, une dotation personnelle qui ne pourra excéder trente mille francs par an.

Art. 23.—Le président et les vice-présidents du Sénat sont nommés par le Président de la République, et choisis parmi les Sénateurs. Ils sont nommés pour un an. Le traitement du président du Sénat est fixé par un décret.

Art. 24.—Le Président de la République convoque et proroge le Sénat. Il fixe la durée de ses sessions par un décret. Les séances du Sénat ne sont pas publiques.

APP. V.

Art. 25.—Le Sénat est le gardien du pacte fondamental et des libertés publiques. Aucune loi ne peut être promulguée avant de lui avoir été soumise.

Art. 26.—Le Sénat s'oppose à la promulgation—1° des lois qui porteraient atteinte ou qui seraient contraires à la Constitution, à la religion, à la morale, à la liberté des cultes, à la liberté individuelle, à l'égalité des citoyens devant la loi, à l'inviolabilité de la propriété, et au principe de l'inamovibilité de la magistrature ; 2° de celles qui pourraient compromettre la défense du territoire.

Art. 27.—Le Sénat règle par un sénatus-consulte—1° la constitution des colonies et de l'Algérie ; 2° tout ce qui n'a pas été prévu par la Constitution et qui est nécessaire à sa marche ; 3° le sens des articles de la Constitution qui donnent lieu à différentes interprétations.

Art. 28.—Ces sénatus-consultes seront soumis à la sanction du Président de la République, et promulgués par lui.

Art. 29.—Le Sénat maintient ou annule tous les actes qui lui sont déférés comme inconstitutionnels par le Gouvernement, ou dénoncés pour la même cause par les pétitions de citoyens.

Art. 30.—Le Sénat peut, dans un rapport adressé au Président de la République, poser les bases d'un projet de loi d'un grand intérêt national.

Art. 31.—Il peut également proposer des modifications à la Constitution. Si la proposition est adoptée par le Pouvoir Exécutif, il y est statué par un sénatus-consulte.

Art. 32.—Néanmoins sera soumise au suffrage universel toute modification aux bases fondamentales de la Constitution, telles qu'elles ont été posées dans la proclamation du 2 décembre et adoptées par le peuple français.

Art. 33.—En cas de dissolution du Corps Législatif, et jusqu'à une nouvelle convocation, le Sénat, sur la proposition du Président de la République, pourvoit, par des mesures d'urgence, à tout ce qui est nécessaire à la marche du Gouvernement.

TITRE V.

Du Corps Législatif.

Art. 34.—L'élection a pour base la population.

Art. 35.—Il y aura un député au Corps Législatif à raison de trente-cinq mille électeurs.

Art. 36.—Les députés sont élus par le suffrage universel, sans scrutin de liste.

Art. 37.—Ils ne reçoivent aucun traitement.

Art. 38.—Ils sont nommés pour six ans.

Art. 39.—Le Corps Législatif discute et vote les projets de lois et l'impôt.

Art. 40.—Tout amendement adopté par la Commission chargée d'examiner un projet de loi sera renvoyé sans discussion au Conseil d'État par le président du Corps Législatif. Si l'amendement n'est pas adopté par le Conseil d'État, il ne pourra pas être soumis à la délibération du Corps Législatif.

Art. 41.—Les sessions ordinaires du Corps Législatif durent trois mois. Ses séances sont publiques; mais la demande de cinq membres suffit pour qu'il se forme en comité secret.

Art. 42.—Le compte-rendu des séances du Corps Législatif par les journaux ou tout autre moyen de publication ne consistera que dans la rédaction du procès verbal, dressé à l'issue de chaque séance par les soins du président du Corps Législatif.

Art. 43.—Le président et les vice-présidents du Corps Législatif sont nommés par le Président de la République pour un an; ils sont choisis parmi les députés. Le traitement du président du Corps Législatif est fixé par un décret.

Art. 44.—Les Ministres ne peuvent être membres du Corps Législatif.

Art. 45.—Le droit de pétition s'exerce auprès du Sénat; aucune pétition ne peut être adressée au Corps Législatif.

Art. 46.—Le Président de la République convoque, ajourne, proroge et dissout le Corps Législatif. En cas de dissolution, le Président de la République doit en convoquer un nouveau dans le délai de six mois.

TITRE VI.

Du Conseil d'État.

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Art. 47.—Le nombre des Conseillers d'État en service ordinaire est de quarante à cinquante.

Art. 48.—Les Conseillers d'État sont nommés par le Président de la République et révocables par lui.

Art. 49.—Le Conseil d'État est présidé par le Président de la République, et, en son absence, par la personne qu'il désigne comme vice-président du Conseil d'État.

Art. 50.—Le Conseil d'État est chargé, sous la direction du Président de la République, de rédiger les projets de lois et les règlements d'administration publique, et de résoudre les difficultés qui s'élèvent en matière d'administration.

Art. 51.—Il soutient, au nom du Gouvernement, la discussion des projets de lois devant le Sénat et le Corps Législatif. Les Conseillers d'État chargés de porter la parole au nom du Gouvernement sont désignés par le Président de la République.

Art. 52.—Le traitement de chaque Conseiller d'État est de 25,000 fr.

Art. 53.—Les Ministres ont rang, séance et voix délibérative au Conseil d'État.

TITRE VII.

De la Haute Cour de Justice.

Art. 54.—Une Haute Cour de Justice juge, sans appel ni recours en cassation, toutes personnes qui auront été renvoyées devant elle comme prévenues de crimes, attentats ou complots contre le Président de la République ou contre la sûreté intérieure ou extérieure de l'État. Elle ne peut être saisie qu'en vertu d'un décret du Président de la République.

Art. 55.—Un sénatus-consulte déterminera l'organisation de cette Haute Cour.

TITRE VIII.

Dispositions générales et transitoires.

Art. 56.—Les dispositions des codes, lois et règlements existants qui ne sont pas contraires à la présente Constitution restent en vigueur jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit légalement dérogé.

Art. 57.—Une loi déterminera l'organisation municipale. Les maires seront nommés par le Pouvoir Exécutif, et pourront être pris hors du conseil municipal.

Art. 58.—La présente Constitution sera en vigueur à dater du jour où les grands corps de l'État qu'elle organise seront constitués.

Les décrets rendus par le Président de la République, à partir du 2 décembre jusqu'à cette époque, auront force de loi.

Fait au palais des Tuileries, le 14 janvier 1852.

LOUIS-NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE.

Vu et scellé du grand sceau.

Le garde des sceaux, Ministre de la Justice,

E. ROUHER.

VI.

How the Vote of November 21–2, 1852, was Taken.

'LE bureau de chaque collége est composé d'un président, de quatre assesseurs et d'un secrétaire, choisis parmi les électeurs. Le maire, ou son délégué, préside le collége ; les assesseurs sont pris, suivant l'ordre du tableau, parmi les conseillers municipaux. À leur défaut, ce sont les deux plus âgés et les deux plus jeunes électeurs présents. Trois membres du bureau, au moins, doivent être présents pendant tout le cours des opérations du collége. La liste des électeurs reste constamment sur le bureau. Nul ne peut être admis à voter s'il n'est inscrit sur cette liste. Le vote de chaque électeur est constaté par la signature ou le paraphe de l'un des membres du bureau, en marge du nom du votant. Les boîtes du scrutin sont scellées et déposées, pendant la nuit, au secrétariat ou dans la salle de la mairie, et les scellés sont également apposés sur les portes et fenêtres de la salle où les boîtes ont été déposées. Après la clôture du scrutin, il est procédé au dépouillement. La boîte du scrutin est ouverte, et le nombre des bulletins vérifié. Le bureau désigne parmi les électeurs présents un certain nombre de scrutateurs sachant lire et écrire, lesquels se divisent par tables de

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quatre au moins. Le président répartit entre les tables les bulletins à vérifier. À chaque table, l'un des scrutateurs lit chaque bulletin à haute voix et le passe à un autre scrutateur. Ces bulletins sont relevés sur des listes préparées à cet effet. Le président et les membres du bureau surveillent l'opération du dépouillement. *Les tables sur lesquelles il s'opère sont disposées de telle sorte que les électeurs puissent circuler à l'entour.* Immédiatement après le dépouillement, le résultat du scrutin est rendu public; il est arrêté et signé par le bureau. Les procès verbaux des opérations électorales de chaque commune sont rédigés en double : l'un de ces doubles reste déposé au secrétariat de la mairie; l'autre double est transmis au préfet du département. Une fois sorti de la commune, le résultat du scrutin ne cesse pas d'être sous la protection de la loi. L'article 34 de la loi électorale porte : " Le recensement général des votes, pour chaque circonscription électorale, se fait au chef-lieu du département, en séance publique." Il est opéré par une commission composée de trois membres du conseil général.—Au recensement des votes de toutes les communes de chaque département succède le recensement des votes de la France entière. Pour donner à cette opération l'autorité et la solennité qu'elle doit avoir, le Prince Président a convoqué le Corps Législatif pour le 25 novembre, à l'effet *de constater la régularité des votes, d'en faire le recensement et d'en déclarer le résultat.* Ainsi, toutes les phases de ce scrutin national seront contrôlées par les représentants de la nation. La loi donne d'ailleurs à tous les esprits défiants le droit et les moyens de s'assurer par eux-mêmes de la régularité et de la loyauté des opérations.'

VII.

Decree on Administrative Decentralisation.

25 Mars 1852.

Louis-Napoléon, Président de la République française,

CONSIDÉRANT que, depuis la chute de l'Empire, des abus et des exagérations de tout genre ont dénaturé le principe de notre centralisation administrative, en substituant à l'action prompte

des autorités locales les lentes formalités de l'administration centrale ;

Considérant qu'on peut gouverner de loin, mais qu'on n'administre bien que de près ; qu'en conséquence, autant il importe de centraliser l'action gouvernementale de l'État, autant il est nécessaire de décentraliser l'action purement administrative ;

Sur le rapport du Ministre de l'Intérieur,

Le Conseil des Ministres entendu—

DÉCRÈTE :—

Art. 1er.—Les préfets continueront à soumettre à la décision du Ministre de l'Intérieur les affaires départementales et communales qui affectent directement l'intérêt général de l'État, telles que l'approbation des budgets départementaux, les impositions extraordinaires et les délimitations territoriales ; mais ils statueront désormais sur toutes les autres affaires départementales et communales qui, jusqu'à ce jour, exigeaient la décision du Chef de l'État ou du Ministre de l'Intérieur, et dont la nomenclature est fixée par le tableau *A* ci-annexé.

Art. 2.—Ils statueront également, sans l'autorisation du Ministre de l'Intérieur, sur les divers objets concernant les subsistances, les encouragements à l'agriculture, l'enseignement agricole et vétérinaire, les affaires commerciales et la police sanitaire et industrielle, dont la nomenclature est fixée par le tableau *B* ci-annexé.

Art. 3.—Les préfets statueront en conseil de préfecture, sans l'autorisation du Ministre des Finances, mais sur l'avis ou la proposition des chefs de service, en matière de contributions indirectes, en matières domaniales et forestières, sur les objets déterminés par le tableau *C* ci-annexé.

Art. 4.—Les préfets statueront également, sans l'autorisation du Ministre des Travaux Publics, mais sur l'avis ou la proposition des ingénieurs en chef, et conformément aux règlements ou instructions ministérielles, sur tous les objets mentionnés dans le tableau *D* ci-annexé.

Art. 5.—Ils nommeront directement, sans l'intervention du Gouvernement et sur la présentation des divers chefs de service, aux fonctions et emplois suivants :—

APP. VII.

1° Les directeurs des maisons d'arrêt et des prisons départementales ;

2° Les gardiens desdites maisons et prisons ;

3° Les membres des commissions de surveillance de ces établissements ;

4° Les médecins et comptables des asiles publics d'aliénés ;

5° Les médecins des eaux thermales dans les établissements privés ou communaux ;

6° Les directeurs et agents des dépôts de mendicité ;

7° Les architectes départementaux ;

8° Les archivistes départementaux ;

9° Les administrateurs, directeurs et receveurs des établissements de bienfaisance ;

10° Les vérificateurs des poids et mesures ;

11° Les directeurs et professeurs des écoles de dessin et les conservateurs des musées des villes ;

12° Les percepteurs surnuméraires ;

13° Les receveurs municipaux des villes dont le revenu ne dépasse pas trois cent mille francs ;

14° Les débitants de poudres à feu ;

15° Les titulaires des débits de tabac simples dont le produit ne dépasse pas mille francs ;

16° Les préposés en chef des octrois des villes ;

17° Les lieutenants de louveterie ;

18° Les directeurs des bureaux de poste aux lettres dont le produit n'excède pas mille francs ;

19° Les distributeurs et facteurs des postes ;

20° Les gardes forestiers des départements, des communes et des établissements publics ;

21° Les gardes champêtres ;

22° Les commissaires de police des villes de six mille âmes et au-dessous ;

23° Les membres des jurys médicaux ;

24° Les piqueurs des ponts-et-chaussées et cantonniers du service des routes ;

25° Les gardes de navigation, cantonniers, éclusiers, barragistes et pontonniers ;

26° Les gardiens de phares, les canotiers du service des ports maritimes de commerce, baliseurs et surveillants de quais.

Art. 6.—Les préfets rendront compte de leurs actes aux Ministres compétents, dans les formes et pour les objets déterminés par les instructions que ces Ministres leur adresseront.

Ceux de ces actes qui seraient contraires aux lois et règlements, ou qui donneraient lieu aux réclamations des parties intéressées, pourront être annulés ou réformés par les Ministres compétents.

Art. 7.—Les dispositions des articles 1, 2, 3, 4 et 5 ne sont pas applicables au département de la Seine.

Art. 8.—Les Ministres de l'Intérieur, des Finances, des Travaux Publics, de l'Instruction Publique et de la Police Générale sont chargés, chacun en ce qui le concerne, de l'exécution du présent décret.

Fait au palais des Tuileries, le 25 mars 1872.

(Signé) LOUIS-NAPOLÉON.

Le Ministre de l'Intérieur,

(Signé) F. DE PERSIGNY.

VIII.

Ceremonial observed at the Marriage of the Emperor.

'LE dimanche, 30 janvier 1853, à onze heures du matin, deux voitures de la Cour iront chercher l'Impératrice au palais de l'Élysée. Dans la première voiture monteront la grande-maîtresse de la maison impériale, la dame d'honneur et le premier chambellan de Sa Majesté. La seconde voiture recevra l'Impératrice, S. Ex. madame la comtesse de Montijo, le grand-maître de la maison impériale, l'écuyer de Sa Majesté étant à la portière. Les voitures, escortées par un piquet de cavalerie, entreront par la grille du Pavillon de Flore.

'Le grand-chambellan et le grand-écuyer, le premier écuyer, quatre chambellans, les officiers d'ordonnance de service, recevront l'Impératrice à la porte du Pavillon de l'Horloge.

'LL.AA.II. le prince Napoléon et la princesse Mathilde attendront Sa Majesté au bas du grand escalier. Le cortége montera le grand escalier pour se rendre au Salon de l'Empereur.

APP. VIII.

'L'Empereur, accompagné de S.A.I. le prince Jérôme, des Ministres, des maréchaux et amiraux, du grand-maréchal du palais, du grand-veneur, s'avancera au-devant de l'Impératrice, hors du Salon de l'Empereur, et la conduira dans ce salon.

'Depuis neuf heures du matin un maître et les aides des cérémonies seront à la cathédrale pour diriger le placement des invités à la cérémonie. Les membres des Corps constitués et les fonctionnaires seront en uniforme, les dames en robe montante et en chapeau, les hommes invités en frac.

'Les portes latérales du grand portail et les portes méridionale et septentrionale de l'église seront seules ouvertes aux personnes invitées. La porte centrale est exclusivement réservée à Leurs Majestés et aux ambassadeurs et Ministres étrangers venus en corps et avec escorte.

'Un orchestre fera entendre une musique sacrée jusqu'à l'arrivée de Leurs Majestés.

'Sur une estrade posée au milieu du transept, en face de l'autel, seront placés, sous un dais, deux siéges d'honneur et deux prie-dieu pour Leurs Majestés.

'De vastes estrades en amphithéâtre, remplissant chacun des bras de la croix latine, seront destinées au Corps Diplomatique étranger et français, au Sénat, au Corps Législatif et au Conseil d'État. Des tribunes ouvrant sur la croix latine seront affectées aux dames du Corps Diplomatique, aux membres de la famille de l'Empereur qui ne seront point du cortége de Leurs Majestés, aux femmes des présidents des grands Corps de l'État, aux femmes des Ministres, des maréchaux et amiraux, aux veuves des grands officiers, aux dames de la maison de l'Impératrice et aux femmes des officiers de la maison de l'Empereur.

'D'autres tribunes et des galeries sont réservées aux dames et aux hommes invités, non fonctionnaires.

'Les premiers rangs des chaises disposées dans la nef seront réservés aux maréchaux, aux amiraux, au grand-chancelier et aux grand'croix de la Légion d'Honneur. Le reste de la nef sera occupé par les députations des Corps constitués, par les hauts fonctionnaires des administrations publiques et par les autres personnes invitées.

'À midi Leurs Majestés partiront du palais des Tuileries: des salves d'artillerie annonceront leur départ.

APP. VIII.

'Une double haie de la Garde Nationale et de l'armée sera rangée sur tout le parcours du cortége, depuis les Tuileries jusqu'au parvis Notre-Dame.

'En tête marcheront les voitures occupées par les officiers civils et militaires de l'Empereur, lesquelles seront précédées et suivies d'un escadron de cavalerie.

'Viendront ensuite—les voitures des Ministres; celles des officiers et dames des princes et princesses; une voiture dans laquelle seront les personnes attachées à la maison de S.A.I. la princesse Mathilde; un escadron de guides; une voiture dans laquelle seront les dames du palais de l'Impératrice; une voiture occupée par le grand-maître et le premier chambellan de l'Impératrice; une voiture à six chevaux dans laquelle seront les grands officiers de la maison de l'Empereur; une voiture à six chevaux occupée par S.A.I. la princesse Mathilde, S.Ex. la comtesse de Montijo, la grande-maîtresse de la maison de l'Impératrice et la dame d'honneur de Sa Majesté; une voiture à six chevaux dans laquelle seront LL.AA.II. le prince Jérôme Napoléon et le prince Napoléon.

'Dans une voiture à huit chevaux seront—

'L'Empereur,

'L'Impératrice.

'La voiture de Leurs Majestés sera suivie d'un escadron de guides et d'un régiment de grosse cavalerie.

'Averti de l'approche du cortége, Mgr l'Archevêque de Paris, précédé de son clergé, se dirigera processionnellement vers le grand portail pour recevoir Leurs Majestés. Les grandes portes s'ouvriront: l'Empereur, donnant la main à l'Impératrice, fera son entrée dans la basilique; Leurs Majestés iront se placer sur le trône. Mgr l'Archevêque, officiant, saluera Leurs Majestés, et commencera la cérémonie du mariage.

'Après la bénédiction de l'anneau nuptial, Leurs Majestés se rendront au pied de l'autel, s'y tiendront debout et se donneront la main droite.

'Mgr l'Archevêque, s'adressant à l'Empereur, puis à l'Impératrice, recevra leurs déclarations de se prendre pour époux et remettra l'anneau à l'Empereur: l'Empereur le placera au doigt de l'Impératrice. Après les oraisons Leurs Majestés retourneront à leur trône.

APP. VIII.

'Leurs Majestés se présenteront successivement à l'offrande.

'Après le *Pater* Leurs Majestés se rendront au pied de l'autel, et s'y mettront à genoux ; le premier aumônier de l'Empereur et un autre évêque étendront sur la tête de Leurs Majestés un poële de brocart d'argent, et le tiendront étendu pendant l'oraison.

'Pendant la bénédiction épiscopale et la lecture de l'évangile le chœur chantera, à plusieurs reprises, le *Domine salvum*.

'Mgr l'Archevêque ira présenter l'eau bénite à Leurs Majestés, et entonnera le *Te Deum*, qui sera repris par l'orchestre et les chanteurs.

'Après le *Te Deum* les grands officiers de la Couronne, les princes, les Ministres et autres personnes arrivées en cortége reprendront leurs rangs.

'Leurs Majestés descendront du trône, et se mettront en marche, suivies comme elles l'étaient à leur arrivée. Mgr l'Archevêque les précédera immédiatement pour les reconduire processionnellement jusqu'au portail.'

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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